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RETURN JONATHAN MEIGS—INDIAN AGENT EXTRAORDINARY*

By HENRY T. MALONE

The summer of 1801 found the Cherokee Nation of Indians in a state of transition. In earlier times the Cherokees were chiefly concerned with the problems of primitive existence in a land frequently torn by strife. The eighteenth century was for them an especially critical period, for it saw the first real impacts of the white man. Early in the century Cherokees began to feel the pressures of settlers eager for rich Indian lands. The troublesome overtures of diplomatic intriguers added a new menace. Inevitably Cherokees found themselves aligned against groups of white men as well as traditional Indian enemies. Thus prodded into an almost constant warfare, Cherokee existence during the latter part of the eighteenth century was both troubled and insecure. Especially effective against them were American frontier soldiers during and after the Revolutionary War. Following these devastating events, most Cherokees gave up the struggle; when the final belligerent group, the Chickamaugas, were defeated in 1794, comparative peace had been forcibly brought to the frontier.

But if the 1790's effectively ended general strife in the Cherokee country, it also brought signs of a changing order for Cherokee Indians. During the three decades to follow, the white man's ways of life were to become peculiarly absorbed into the Cherokee culture. Missionaries would bring education to many and Christianity to some. Agriculture and a smattering of commerce would become the chief means of livelihood. The tribal-clan system of government would give way before the white man's republicanism. The fortunate invention of Sequoyah would bring literacy in their own tongue, while an Indian newspaper, *The Cherokee Phoenix,* would write a new chapter in the history of American journalism.

The role of the United States government in this Cherokee transformation was a peculiar one. Although it frequently sought land cessions throughout the period of transition, it also held out the presumed benefits of the white man's agrarian civilization to the

*This paper was read to the May, 1955, meeting of the East Tennessee Historical Society, at Cleveland, Tennessee.

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Cherokees. The fourteenth article of the Treaty of Holston, 1791, made this offer:

> That the Cherokee nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will, from time to time, furnish gratuitously the said nation with useful implements of husbandry. . . .[1]

The task of executing this altruistic Indian program fell successively to two Americans during the 1790's: William Blount, governor of the Territory South of the River Ohio from 1790 to 1796; and Benjamin Hawkins, agent for the Southern Indians, whose five-year jurisdiction over the Cherokees ended in 1801. Under these two men the civilizing program had little appreciable chance for success. Blount was not interested in the project; his desires lay in other directions than Indian improvement. Hawkins, although enthusiastic over the prospect of seeing the Indians bettered, was forced to divide his time between Creeks and Cherokees. It is probable that the brief services of Hawkins and his deputy, Silas Dinsmore, gave the Cherokees an encouraging impetus toward the progressive developments which came after 1801.[2] In that year the Jefferson administration appointed a special agent for the Cherokee Indians, a man whose service was to be both interested and long.

The new agent was Return Jonathan Meigs. A seasoned frontiersman and Revolutionary War hero, Meigs had a thorough knowledge of the Indians and a deep sympathy for their problems. Sensible, just, firm, and above desire for personal gain, he devoted himself to promoting the well-being of the Cherokees. Diplomatic in spite of his rough background, he ably served his government, successfully dealt with state authorities, and generally gained the confidence of Indians. After the confusion of frontier crises Colonel Meigs was a stabilizing force in a crucial period of Cherokee history.

Return J. Meigs was born at Middletown, Connecticut, on December 17, 1740. At the age of thirty-two he was commissioned a lieutenant

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[1] *American State Papers:* Class II, 2 vols. *Indian Affairs* (Washington, 1832-1834), I, 125. Hereafter referred to as *ASP, IA.*

[2] A documentary record of William Blount's administration as governor of the Territory South of the Ohio is available in Clarence E. Carter (ed.), *The Territory South of the River Ohio, 1790-1796* (Vol. IV, *The Territorial Papers of the United States,* Washington, 1936). See also W. H. Masterson, *William Blount* (Baton Rouge, La., 1954). On Benjamin Hawkins see Merritt B. Pound, *Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent* (Athens, Ga., 1951) and *The Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806* (Vol. IX, *Collections* of the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, 1916). During the period from 1799 to 1801 American affairs in the Cherokee country were supervised for brief terms by Silas Dinsmore, William Lewis, and David Henley.

in the Sixth Connecticut Regiment, and during the Revolutionary War he rose to the rank of colonel. He participated in Benedict Arnold's ill-fated march on Quebec and later led the "brilliant" Sag Harbor expedition in 1777, for which Congress gratefully awarded him a sword. After retirement in 1781, he became interested in the Ohio Company, which appointed him surveyor. In April, 1788, Meigs led a group of settlers from New England to the Ohio country. There he suggested a "code of rules" which the community adopted. Meigs eventually settled down at Marietta, Ohio. In May, 1801, he accepted a dual appointment as Cherokee Indian agent and agent of the War Department in Tennessee.[3]

Arriving in the Indian country in the middle of June, Colonel Meigs went to work promptly. His first task was to set up a combined Indian and War Department agency at South West Point (Kingston, Tennessee), about sixty miles northwest of the Tellico factory. At the request of James Vann and other Cherokee leaders, Meigs obtained War Department approval to establish a subsidiary agency at Tellico to which Major William L. Lovely was assigned late in 1801.[4]

During Meigs' twenty-two years as Indian agent he fulfilled the pledges of the United States by guiding the Indian nation along the path of the white man's progress. He distributed farming implements and household utensils, along with expert advice on their use. He stood up for Indian rights at treaty conferences and encouraged Cherokee efforts to establish a republican government of their own. The agent recovered stolen property, arbitrated disputes, gave medical aid, and ordered out intruders. When the War Department told him to cooperate with religious efforts, Meigs made numerous visits to the mission stations and frequently aided them in construction and other problems. From the moment of his arrival, the sixty-year old Indian agent was an active and guiding force on Cherokee development,

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[3]Allen Johnson, *et al.* (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography,* 21 vols. and index (New York, 1928), XII, 508-509. A voluminous record of Meigs' service as Cherokee Indian agent from 1801 to 1823 is found in the Cherokee Agency Files among the Bureau of Indian Affairs Records, Natural Resources Records Branch, National Archives, Washington, D. C. (hereafter cited as BIA, CAF). Unless otherwise noted, all letters and manuscripts cited in this paper are from the Cherokee Agency Files. *ASP, IA* also contains some of Meigs' correspondence.

[4]Meigs to Dearborn, May 18, June 15, 19, 1801; W. Hooker (U.S. factor at Tellico) to Meigs, June 10, 1801; Penelope J. Allen, "Leaves from the Family Tree—South West Point," Chattanooga *Sunday Times* (Magazine Section), Sept. 30, 1934, pp. 12-13; receipt, Sept. 15, 1801, signed by "Wm. L. Lovely, Ass. Agt. for the Cherokees"; Meigs to Lovely, "Instructions for Assistant Agent, [1801]."

serving his Indian wards as parent, adviser, doctor, lawyer, and home demonstration agent.

First among the Indian agent's duties was the maintenance of peace and order. The chief source of difficulty lay in the friction produced by unscrupulous men of both white and red races. The white men who provoked Indians were generally of four categories: land-hungry farmers who settled illegally on Indian territory; traders who took advantage of their legalized presence in the nation; travellers, soldiers, and itinerant artisans who appropriated Cherokee property; and criminal fugitives. Before Meigs entered the Indian country he was instructed by the War Department to report unauthorized settlers to the nearest commanding officer of a United States army detachment. A month later the agent was warned to keep out any trouble-making whites. Secretary of War Henry Dearborn wrote, "I request your vigilant attention . . . in order to prevent our peace from being disturbed by the licentiousness of daring and unprincipled men." The problems brought by some of these "daring and unprincipled men" were described thus by a group of Georgia commissioners to the Cherokees: "There are Numbers of white people in the Nation who have wives among the Natives, Carry on a Triffling Commerce with them and are averse to any further, or better understanding [between whites and Indians] than now exists. Several of these characters have fled from punishment."[5]

White men who arbitrarily possessed themselves of Cherokee lands were a constant problem for the agent. Specific complaints about these intruders were usually reported to Meigs by the individuals concerned. In 1807, for example, a Cherokee named John Boggs wrote:

> Friend and Brother I had a Piece of Land alloted for myself upon . . . [Sequatchie River] the head men allotted it for me Since that there is a white man Come and Settled upon it which I do not like his name is James Blair I dont Like him as he has left his own wife and Taken up with an Indian woman I look upon him as a Base man.
>
> As you are my friend and Brother I hope you will See me Justice Done—

---

[5]Dearborn to Meigs, June 25, 1801; Instructions of the Secretary of War to the Agent for the Cherokee Nation, May 15, 1801; Journal of Georgia Commissioners to the Cherokees, January, 1803, in Cherokee Letters Collection, Georgia Department of Archives, Atlanta, Georgia (hereafter cited as CLC, GDA).

Meigs tried to "See Justice Done" in removing intruders. Usually he investigated each complaint. If the whites were found in illegal residence, the military officer nearest the point of intrusion was requested to remove them. The Agent's approach to his duty was revealed in 1808 when Captain A. B. Armistead of the Hiwassee Garrison was instructed to remove a James Chisholm, "residing on the Indian lands as an aggressor." Meigs remarked at the close of the letter, "it is my wish that he may be taken with the least possible distress to his family; which is only involved in difficulty by his bad conduct."[6]

The "bad conduct" of trespassers kept some sections of the nation in anxiety, and added considerably to the problems of Return J. Meigs. His plaintive description of their actions expressed accurately not only the menace to law and order but the threats to successful treaty negotiations:

> The conduct of these intruders is just such as that of others in numerous instances on the frontiers of the Cherokee country— Under some pretext they enter on the Indian lands disturb the peace & quiet of the Indians; then teaze the Government to purchase the land, which raises the price, & embarrasses the Government in effecting purchases—If they are moved they complain of hardship, while at the same time they are the sole cause of all they suffer. . . .[7]

White men were not the only aggressors in the Indian country. Cherokees occasionally robbed and murdered; and Meigs received the brunt of complaints on these scores. Here again he dispensed justice to persons wronged. If investigation proved red men at fault, his agency made restitution in money or goods; in cases of homicide Meigs secured retribution from the Cherokee National Council. Shortly after the Agent reported to duty, for example, he settled a case involving a white man named Attwood, who complained to Meigs that he had been held prisoner by a Cherokee named 'Tus'ke'ge'ti'hi' who forced him to pay a ransom—of three dollars. After a few days' investigation Meigs reimbursed Attwood. On the occasions when white men ignored the Indian agent and meted out their own punishment, Meigs lost no time in asserting his authority. When two Tennesseans named William Russel and Stephen Copeland forcibly dispossessed several Indians of a hunting camp in retaliation for livestock losses, Colonel Meigs reported the incident to the governor of Tennessee. In the message he summed up his grievances on such matters:

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[6]John Boggs to Meigs, Feb. 20, 1807; Meigs to Armistead, Feb. 5, 1808.
[7]Meigs to Dearborn, July 30, 1806, in CLC, GDA.

> What they allege with respect to the Indians killing some of there Stock may be true but as the Law Guarantees satisfaction in such cases, they should have ascertained the facts & made complaint to the Agent—An attempt to obtain private Satisfaction by Violent measures deprive them of recovery damages, & has a tendency to induce retaliation without end, & may finally if not restrained envolve us in a quarrel with the Indians—[8]

One Cherokee successfully evaded both federal and local punishment for his crimes. This was the notorious half-breed town chief James Vann. A peculiar combination of benevolent leader and rip-snorting hoodlum, Vann was a constant trouble-maker. When Moravian churchmen sought to bring a mission to the Cherokees in 1801, Vann was outstanding in his aid to them. After helping to obtain Council approval for the missionaries, he gave generously of his time, advice, and property when the mission station was begun at his home. Yet his carousing was a constant source of anxiety for his church friends, who tried unsuccessfully to reform him. Finally, in March, 1804, Meigs sent the Secretary of War a list of Vann's misdeeds, including a report that the Indian had recently murdered a Georgia militiaman named Leonard Rice. Dearborn's reply indicated a sensible policy for his agent: "If the citizens of Georgia will take due measures for punishing him for his crimes, there can be no objection on the part of the General Government." But Fate caught up with James Vann before "due measures" could be taken. A shooting affray with his brother-in-law brought on a duel; and in 1809 Vann was shot to death.[9]

Most of Meigs' relations with the Cherokee Council were more pleasant than those involving Vann. Anxious to receive the instruments of civilization promised them by the federal government at Holston in 1791, the Cherokees found Return J. Meigs eager to continue the plan of improvement. The Agent carried on the civilizing program in the spirit of his predecessor Benjamin Hawkins, encouraging the Cherokees as individuals and as a nation. At the outset of his work Meigs found the Indians in excellent condition to receive aid, judging by remarks in a letter to the Secretary of War:

> It appears to me from the present temper of the Indians, that the raising of Cotton & Sheep & manufacturing the produce of these

[8]Meigs to Governor Roane, Jan. 19, 1802.

[9]Adelaide L. Fries (ed.), *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina,* 8 vols. (Raleigh, N. C., 1922—), VI, *passim;* B. Harris (of Jackson County, Georgia) to Meigs, Feb. 22, 1808; Dearborn to Meigs, May 7, 1808; Penelope J. Allen, "Leaves from the Family Tree—The Vann Family," Chattanooga *Sunday Times* (Magazine Section), July 26, 1936, p. 7.

> articles may be easily carried to a very considerable extent & thereby accelerate civilization, even amongst those who have been strongly attached to the hunting life—[10]

The United States government fully intended to "accelerate civilization" among the Cherokee Indians. The policy to be carried out was epitomized in a letter of instructions from the Secretary of War in July, 1801. Referring to a delegation of Cherokee chiefs who had recently visited Washington, Dearborn wrote:

> They have represented to me that the blacksmith who is established at the Muscle Shoals will be much more useful if removed to the great town in the interior of their country: you will therefore be pleased to have him removed thither and furnished with iron to make light iron apparatus for ploughs, etc., and direct him to instruct such young Indians as may be willing in the trade.
>
> If a sober, orderly Carpenter can be procured to reside in their country for about Six months to make the wood work for ploughs, &c, & instruct the young men I request you to engage one.
>
> One hundred pairs of Cotton Cards will be sent to you to be distributed in presents to the industrious as occasion may require; a like number will be forwarded to the Tellico Factory to be sold to the Indians.

In the execution of these and similar orders Agent Meigs showed energy and initiative. For example, he immediately made arrangements to move the blacksmith, sending him to the Willstown area (near present-day Fort Payne, Alabama). A short time later he placed another blacksmith at the request of Indians in a different region. When possible he also supplied the Cherokees with "Wheel Makers," carpenters, and other artisans.[11]

Late in 1801 Colonel Meigs pondered the question, "How shall we give to this people an impulsion which shall draw it towards the aim we have in view i.e to a degree of Civilization—while the ancient usages are so much esteemed[?]" He arrived at a possible solution which reflected a deep interest in Cherokee improvement, and at the same time forecast Indian governmental development:

> It cannot be done by an individual: but by forming the whole [nation] into civil divisions, creating officers in each, to attend to the manners, employments, Virtues, & Vices,—to advise, instruct, & encourage virtuous actions—discourage and apprehend vice; in fine, to have an eye on the little community & to report annually at a meeting of the principal Men and Fathers—the moral Virtues may spring up from this mode of cultivation—Vice will hide its head, industry [be] encouraged.

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[10]Meigs to Secretary of War, Jan. 11, 1802.

[11]Dearborn to Meigs, July 10, 1801; Benjamin Hawkins to Meigs, Sept. 15, 1801; Dearborn to Meigs, April 30, 1802.

Meigs presented this proposal to the Council, with the further recommendation that the "civil officials" include in their annual reports "the quantity of cloth manufactured during each year, that when the year came about they would at once have a View of the State of their people, with respect to morals, manufactures, & agriculture. . . ."[12] Although the Cherokees made no immediate effort to adopt Meigs' suggestion, his proposal for civil reorganization found fruit seventeen years later in the creation of the Cherokee Republic.[13]

Requests for assistance poured into the Agency from individuals all over the nation, most of whom desired tools and equipment. Writing for the "Head men of the towns" near Ellijay in November, 1801, for example, an Indian named Dredful Waters asked for "ten pair Cotton Cards as they stand in need of them now cotton have come. and four wheels, and two screw augers, and four, gimblets and two draw Knives. . . ." On many occasions Cherokees visited the Agency to ask for implements. A letter from four Indians gave warning of such a visit early in 1807:

> Vans villey [valley] febuwerey 7 1807 freind and brother we intend to pay u a viset the third of Next month and have the pleasur of Convering with you Likewise we beg that you will pervid one plow and one whele apese for us. . . .
> Fore of each
>
> Big halfbreid X
> Jobber Sam
> Bird Eye
> George Miller

One prominent Cherokee town chief heard from frequently was The Glass. His requests reflected the needs of his town, and included writing paper, a blacksmith, and agricultural implements. On one occasion he wrote, "I want you to Lay by for my town fore plows and for widen hos [four weeding hoes] and fore Axes and fore gruben [grubbing] hose and I want you to Lit John Lowery the Same quanty of the Same arttickels for the pore people abot him. . . ."[14]

A scarcity of corn caused by a drought in the Cherokee Nation during the year 1804 was a crisis which Meigs faced in his typical

[12]Meigs to Dearborn, Oct. 4, 1801; Journal of Occurrences in the Cherokee Nation (a manuscript record kept by Meigs from 1801 to 1804), Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

[13]For a summary of this governmental development, see Henry T. Malone, A Social History of the Eastern Cherokees from Revolution to Removal (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Emory University, 1952), ch. VI, "A Republic is Born."

[14]Dredful Waters to "Mr Coneal Megs," Nov. 23, 1801; Big Half Breed to Meigs, Feb. 6, 1807; The Glass to Meigs, May 30, 1807, Nov. 11, 1804, Feb. 8, 1808.

fashion. The first request for food came from Doublehead and other Cherokees in the Muscle Shoals area on the lower Tennessee River. The Agent immediately sent them three hundred bushels of corn, for which the Indians paid $110. Meigs, however, requested and received permission from the War Department to return the money; he thought it his duty "to give the necessary relief—believing that humanity and interest combine to make it proper especially when Interesting negotiations with them are now soon to be opened." Meigs' policy pleased his government. Henry Dearborn sent him the President's congratulations, urging Meigs to continue helping needy Indians: "You will embrace so favorable an opportunity for impressing the minds of the Cherokees with the fatherly concern and attention of the President to the distresses of his red children."[15]

Occasionally Meigs' "red children" were distressed by disease, and those who turned from native conjurors and traditional herbs found Meigs sympathetic and helpful. When a smallpox epidemic struck the nation in 1806 the Agent, at Council's request, obtained for them the services of a Tennessee doctor named William McNeill. Upon the conclusion of the physician's work, Meigs paid him $150.[16] A prominent Cherokee native whose sickness was cured partly through Meigs' assistance thanked him in 1801: "Honoured Sir I have Sent to let you know I have Recovered of my Sickness & am perfectly Well I am Greatly Obliged to you Sir for the favours I Ricieved from your hands . . . I Return my thanks for [your] Goodness to me in the time of my Sickness I hope in a Short time to see You all again soon."[17]

One of the more important duties of the Indian Agent was to distribute the yearly annuities which were owed to the Cherokees by the United States for previous land cessions. Payments in money and goods were made at annual gatherings, usually at the Indian Agency. Traditional presents to Indians had long included colorful gew-gaws, and some annuity payments were made in these items. The Cherokees, however, were on the threshold of a higher degree of culture, and

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[15]Meigs to Dearborn, May 31, 1804; and Dearborn to Meigs, June 21, 1804.

[16]Receipt of Dr. Wm. McNeill, Oct. 27, 1808. See also Receipt of Dr. Thomas J. Vandyke for $23.25, paid by Meigs January 16, 1813, for "attendance on James Vance wounded by one of their people."

[17]Richard Brown to Meigs, March 4, 1808. In 1803 a school teacher at Hiwassee wrote Meigs that a man in that village "has a Cancer on his Leg which appears to be dangerous and wishes you to procure Some medicine for that purpose. . . ." Jonathan Black to Meigs, Dec. 22, 1803.

consequently requested more practical materials. Shortly after Meigs became Indian agent he notified the Purveyor of Public Supplies in Philadelphia that the Cherokee chiefs requested goods "that are really usefull for them in their circumstances." The Indians complained to Meigs that the previous annuity had brought them "Fine muslin, Tamboured [embroidered] muslin, Silk Stockings, Ostrich Feathers, Gold & Silver lace, fine dimity, Earrings, Cambrick, Diaper & Damask Table Cloths, Morocco Shoes, & one Sett of Officers Canteens complete."[18]

The Cherokee Council continued to press for better assortments of annuity goods. In 1803 it presented to Colonel Meigs a list of items to be included in that year's payment, which indicated the Cherokees' interest in the government's civilizing program:

> 50 Brass Kettles of different sizes, 100 Tin Kettles of all the different sizes, 200 pairs of Cotton Cards, 1000 Blankets, 80 Fur Hats, 50 lbs. Thread, 100 ps. [pieces] Callico, 50 ps. Common Cotton Stripes, 100 ps. Strouds [coarse blankets], 100 yards of Scarlet Broad Cloth—Second quality, 50 ps. Broad ribbon, 6 Gross of Silk Handks, 10 m. Needles, 12 Gross Quality bandings, 30 ps. Linen not fine, 4 lbs. Virmillion, 1 Gross of Scizzars.[19]

The annuity distribution of 1807 is illustrative of supply problems. The annuity of that year consisted of four thousand dollars worth of blankets and five thousand dollars cash. The blankets were shipped from Philadelphia to the Agency (then located on the Hiwassee River) by way of Savannah and Augusta; transport from Augusta was by wagons sent down by Meigs. The cash was sent directly to the Agency by courier. The chiefs requested the money earlier than the usual time for annuities; and Meigs complied with the request by issuing the money on August 25. The following signed (all with an X) a receipt "in behalf of the Cherokee Nation": Black Fox, Sower Mush, Davis, Chulioa, Big Half Breed, Quoleguskee, Tolunluskee, Will Shorey, John Lowery, and Toutchalee.[20]

Normally annuities were distributed in the autumn to huge throngs. When in 1802 he discovered that subsistence for the gathering Cherokees was furnished by the federal government, Meigs tried to cut

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[18]Meigs to Israel Wheeler (purveyor of Public Supplies), Nov. 21, 1801.

[19]"Memorandum of Articles requested as part of the Cherokee Annuity for the Year 1803," Feb. 3, 1803.

[20]William Simmons (War Department accountant) to Meigs, Feb. 28, 1807; Dearborn to Meigs, March 2, 1807; Levi Shiftall (U. S. agent at Savannah) to Meigs, July 29, 1807; Receipt for part of Cherokee Annuity, 1807, dated Aug. 25, 1807.

down the number attending. In spite of the suggestion, however, fifty-two chiefs and a considerable number of followers turned up. Subsequent gatherings were also large. In 1803 Meigs ordered "Fifteen thousand rations of bread, Meat, and Salt" for annuity time.[21]

The annual assembly of such large numbers of Indians was a constant source of trouble for Agent and Council alike. Subsistence problems, speculative ventures, and the disorder and confusion that often prevailed when whiskey was brought along made such occasions difficult. After a republican form of government was organized in 1817, a new arrangement for the handling of annuities was made. The Cherokee National Council authorized a delegation of chiefs to inform the government at Washington that

> our annuity has been embarrassed by speculation both by whites and red people which had continued from Double Head's time to the present day and that the nation now had Elected thirteen warriors to have the superintendence of it in the settlements with limited Powers subject to the unanimous acceptance or rejection by the members of the council and chiefs of the Cherokee nation. and that the chiefs have resolved that hereafter the National Committee shall meet at the Agency to receive annuities, &c with the above limited power, as these great national meetings have of late produced quarrels among our people and division among our warriors &c.[22]

A prime function of the Cherokee agent was to serve as a liaison officer between white and red governments and to arrange treaty conferences as they became necessary. Most of these conferences stemmed from land hunger, and it was Meigs' difficult task to maintain a climate of opinion among Cherokee leaders favorable to territorial cessions. During the period of Meigs' agency from 1801 to 1823 numerous attempts were made by federal and state commissioners to secure land grants from the Cherokees. Nine of these attempts were successful, reducing the Cherokee Nation to an area of some ten million acres. Most of the land cessions were in northern Georgia, as that state was especially active in efforts to expel the Cherokees. Anxious to see the Indians removed and eager to rid herself of the vexatious Yazoo problem, Georgia had ceded her western claims to the United States in 1802.[23] In return for this region, which became part of the Mississippi

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[21]"To the Cherokees . . . ," Oct. 10, 1802; Meigs to Secretary of War, Dec. 7, 1802; Meigs to Major MacRea (commanding the garrison at South West Point), Aug. 15, 1803.

[22]Copy of Letter of Instructions, Chiefs & Council to Deputation for Washington, Sept. 19, 1817, in Manuscripts of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Houghton Library, Harvard University), Section 18.3.1, Vol. II, item 96.

[23]The Yazoo controversy grew out of huge sales made by Georgia in the 1790's to

Territory, Georgia was to receive a payment of $1,250,000 and the Yazoo claims were to be assumed by the United States. Furthermore, the United States guaranteed to "extinguish, at their own expense, for the use of Georgia, as early as the same can be peaceably obtained, upon reasonable terms, the Indian title to the lands lying within the limits of that state."[24] For the next thirty years Georgians demanded with ever-growing impatience that the federal government remove the Cherokees and Creeks in accordance with the "Compact of 1802."

Shortly after Meigs' arrival at South West Point he began to receive requests from his government and the surrounding states to obtain land cessions from the Cherokees. He found the Cherokee Council adamant in its determination not to cede any more lands. His policy, however, was to persuade the chiefs that the payment was more to be desired in some cases than the lands given up. He was told by the Secretary of War that

> the money & goods which they will receive for the lands, more especially that part which will be paid annually will be of more real benefit to the nation under their improved state than the lands can be: that they will be enabled to make still greater progress in the useful arts, & will more & more rely on agriculture & domestic manufactories for their support & of course become a happy people.[25]

That Meigs successfully used this approach early in his Indian dealings was evidenced in 1802 when the Cherokees agreed to sell the Long Island in the Holston River. In reporting the agreement, the Agent wrote Henry Dearborn that the Council "have desired me to request in their behalf, that the Island may be sold for the benefit of their Nation, & say that they think the Island is worth two thousand dollars —& desire that it may be sold for cash.—"[26] Although the treaty for this particular cession was not arranged for several years, it is significant that through Meigs' intercession the Indians seem to have initiated the action.

The first land cessions negotiated during Meigs' agency were

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land companies seeking to exploit the state's western lands. Bribery and fraud occurred in the purchases of some sixty million acres. Finally the legislature of Georgia tried to revoke the sales, and angry landholders carried their claims to the courts. Charles H. Haskins, "The Yazoo Land Companies," *Papers* of the American Historical Association (Washington, 1891), V, 395-437.

[24] *Message from the President of the United States, transmitting certain Papers Relating to the Compact between the U. States and the State of Georgia, of 1802, &c., Senate Doc.* 63, April 2, 1824, 18 Cong., 1 Sess. (Washington, 1824), 6.

[25] Dearborn to Meigs, April 23, 1804.

[26] Meigs to Dearborn, June 29, 1802.

arranged in 1804 and 1805.[27] On October 24, 1804, the Cherokee Nation gave up a small tract in northeast Georgia known as "Wafford's Settlement," in return for an immediate payment of five thousand dollars in goods or cash, and an addition of one thousand dollars to the yearly annuity. A year later, two large cessions in central Tennessee and southern Kentucky were obtained from the Cherokees. The Indians received $15,600 at the time, and three thousand dollars in extra annuities. They also gave road concessions in both of the 1805 treaties.[28] These agreements were negotiated by Meigs and General Daniel Smith of Tennessee. Their success after other commissioners had failed may be attributed partly to Meigs' influence, and partly to the reprehensible use of "secret articles" which gave special concessions to Chief Doublehead as a reward for helping push the treaty through Council.[29]

During the next two years Colonel Meigs was busy with boundary-making problems created by the recent cessions, for he was appointed as United States commissioner to superintend the surveying of the new lines. In the meantime another treaty was arranged. On January 7, 1806, a delegation of Cherokees in Washington made final negotiations for selling the Long Island of Holston; this treaty also included a large cession in central Tennessee and Alabama between the Tennessee and Duck rivers.[30]

A decade elapsed before the Cherokees could be induced to part with more land, although South Carolina and Tennessee were importunate in seeking treaties. Finally, in 1816, after Colonel Meigs took a delegation of Indians to Washington for personal negotiations, three

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[27]The various Cherokee treaties for this period may be found in Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws & Treaties* (Washington, 1904), II; and *ASP, IA,* I, II. A descriptive list of Cherokee land grants is contained in Charles C. Royce, "Indian Land Cessions in the United States," *Eighteenth Annual Report,* Bureau of American Ethnology, 1896-97 (Washington, 1899), Pt. 2, pp. 527-997.

[28]Kappler, *Indian Affairs,* II, 73-74, 82-84; Charles C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians: A Narrative of their Official Relations with the Colonial and Federal Governments," *Fifth Annual Report,* Bureau of American Ethnology, 1883-84 (Washington, 1887), 183-94. The government's copy of the 1804 treaty was lost, and it was not until a Cherokee delegation presented a duplicate in 1824 that the document was ratified by the Senate. *Ibid.,* 188.

[29]*Ibid.,* 191. This practice of Doublehead's was a violation of Cherokee tradition; his continued efforts to secure personal gain at the expense of the nation resulted in his assassination in 1807 by appointed executioners. James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokees," *19th Annual Report,* Bureau of American Ethnology, 1897-98 (Washington, 1900), Pt. I, 85.

[30]Kappler, *Indian Affairs,* II, 90-92; Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," 191, 193-94. The specific boundary line of this cession caused some difficulty, and a special treaty on Sept. 11, 1807, was necessary before the line could be clearly marked. Furthermore, Meigs had to resort again to the use of secret grants to negotiating chiefs. *Ibid.,* 194, 197; Meigs to Dearborn, Sept. 28, 1807.

agreements were reached. On March 22 the last Cherokee portion of South Carolina, a small triangular strip in the state's northwestern corner, was relinquished for five thousand dollars. Another treaty of the same date settled several long-standing problems, notably Cherokee claims for depredations suffered when American troops marched through the Indian country during the Creek War of 1813-14. Other terms of this agreement clarified the Cherokee-Creek boundary between the Coosa and Tennessee rivers; and granted to the United States the "right to lay off, open, and have the free use of all roads through their [Cherokee] country . . . necessary to convenient intercourse between the States of Tennessee, Georgia, and Mississippi Territory; also the free navigation of all rivers within the Cherokee territory." A stipulation which may have won over some of the reluctant Indian signatories provided that individual Cherokees could erect and maintain public-houses along the roads. The third treaty of 1816, ratified by Cherokees on October 4, ceded a large area in present-day northwestern Alabama, bounded by the Coosa and Tennessee rivers, for which the Indians were to be paid five thousand dollars in cash and sixty thousand dollars in ten annuities.[31]

A year later further grants ate away more lands on the Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia borders. A growing sentiment on the part of some Cherokees favoring westward removal to richer game areas offered a prime opportunity to obtain more lands from the red men. United States Commissioners Andrew Jackson, Joseph McMinn, and David Meriwether sought an exchange of eastern for western lands. Despite the obvious disapproval of numerous Indian leaders, the commissioners arranged an exchange treaty with some forty-three chiefs, fifteen of whom represented western Cherokees. Signed July 8, 1817, the agreement ceded to Tennessee a triangular area bordering on the Sequatchie River; Alabama received two rectangular strips north of the Tennessee River west of the Muscle Shoals; and Georgia was given a large irregular L-shaped region on the east bank of the Chattahoochee extending about one hundred miles north and south. In return for these grants the Cherokees were given an area of equal size on the Arkansas and White rivers bordering on the Osage country.[32]

An unusual feature of the treaty of 1817, and one which offered

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[31]Kappler, *Indian Affairs,* II, 124-26, 133-34.
[32]*Ibid.,* 140-44.

new hope to those Cherokees anxious for security and agricultural prosperity in their southern homelands, was the "reservations" clause: "Each head of a Cherokee family residing on lands herein or hereafter ceded to the United States who elects to become a citizen of the United States shall receive a reservation of 640 acres, to include his or her improvements, for life, with reversion in fee simple to children, subject to widow's dower."[33] Although this offer was probably intended as a sop for those chiefs opposing western removal, a considerable number of Cherokee landholders accepted with alacrity.

As an inducement to further the western removal of Cherokees, the commissioners inserted in the treaty of 1817 several seemingly beneficial clauses to allay the suspicions of undecided lower-class Indians. The stipulations guaranteed payment for improvements abandoned by the emigrants. "Poor warriors" departing for the west would be given "a rifle, ammunition, blanket, and brass kettle or beaver trap each, as full compensation for improvements left by them." Others leaving more expensive property were to be paid full value. Furthermore, the federal government promised to pay transportation costs and subsistence for the journey to Arkansas.[34]

Since the 1790's various bands of Cherokees had wandered westward, especially those dissatisfied with the federal civilizing policy. In 1794 a Cherokee chief named Bowls led a group to the Arkansas country.[35] At the suggestion of Spanish agents, a few families later went to the area around the River St. Francis. By 1805 these Cherokees, with vagabond Indians from other tribes, had become a constant source of danger to passing white boatmen and frontiersmen.[36] But most of the Cherokee Indians were opposed to westward emigration. The topic was broached to them by the United States government shortly after the purchase of the Louisiana Territory in 1803. President Jefferson proposed that eastern tribes of Indians be removed to the newly acquired

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[33]Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," 213.

[34]*Ibid.*

[35]Mary B. Gude, Georgia and the Cherokees (unpublished master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1910), 2; interview with W. W. Harnage (grandson of a member of Bowls' party), Indians & Pioneers Papers, Vol. 39, p. 102, in Phillips Collection of Indian History, University of Oklahoma. A few years later Bowls was joined by a group of Cherokees under Tah-chee (or "Dutch"), and the combined body moved to the Red River in Texas. John P. Brown, *Old Frontiers* (Kingsport, Tenn., 1938), 471.

[36]Eron Rowland, *Life, Letters and Papers of William Dunbar* (Jackson, Miss., 1930), 210.

western lands. Vociferous objections from white inhabitants of the territory temporarily ended that project.[37]

At various times Return J. Meigs had discussed removal possibilities with the Council. In 1804 he reported that most Indians disliked the idea, although several leaders would support it "by motives of personal Interest." Four years later prospects seemed brighter, and Meigs received authorization from Washington to attempt a removal treaty. In 1809 the Agent sent a delegation of Cherokees, headed by the young mixed-blood John Ross, into the Arkansas River country on an inspection trip. This group's favorable account of the region provoked a temporary enthusiasm for migration, and plans were begun by the Agent and Council. But when it was learned that no federal appropriations were available to finance the movement, only a few went west.[38]

By 1817 there were beyond the Mississippi some two thousand Cherokees who were usually referred to as "Old Settlers West" or "Cherokees West." When the treaty of 1817 was proclaimed, federal and state authorities hoped that a majority of the eastern Cherokees would emigrate to join them. This did not occur. It was a minority treaty and Indian anger was rampant over this violation of one of their established principles; those who signed it were calumniated and persecuted until they and a few others left for the western territories. Meanwhile, protests and delegations went to Washington seeking a fairer agreement. Most Cherokees were probably perplexed at the shift in the federal government's attitude. As a situation which made Meigs' job more difficult, this change and typical Indian reaction to it were reported thus by a group of missionaries near Chickamauga Creek:

> The Indians say they don't know how to understand their Father the President. A few years ago he sent them a plough & a hoe—said it was not good for his red children to hunt—they must cultivate the earth. Now he tells them there is good hunting at the Arkansas; if they go there he will give them rifles.

These clergymen resolved to keep out of the controversy, although they felt that a "general removal would greatly distress" the Cherokees, and would probably retard "the benevolent design of bringing them out of

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[37]Annie H. Abel, "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi River," American Historical Association *Report*, 1906 (Washington, 1906), I, 243-49.

[38]Meigs to Dearborn, May 31, 1804; Dearborn to Meigs, March 25, 1808; Mooney, "Myths," 102.

their state of darkness to the light of divine truth & the privileges of civilization."[39]

Meanwhile some 3,500 Cherokees enrolled for westward removal, filed their claims for improvements abandoned, and prepared for the journey. White officials began protesting to the Cherokee Council that more territory was going to be required in the west than had been given up in the east, and that further cessions were required. The Cherokee leaders were also badgered by protests from their own countrymen for better evaluating arrangements, and more satisfactory guarantees of repayment. Finally, another treaty was concluded February 27, 1819, by which thousands of acres of territory on the eastern, northern, and southern Cherokee boundaries were ceded. The United States reiterated its offer of 640-acre reservations, guaranteed a fair payment for abandoned property, and promised to keep intruders out of the ceded lands until January 1, 1820.[40] Following the vast cessions of the period 1816-1819, the Cherokee Nation refused to make any more land treaties—at least until the 1830's.

The "reservations" clauses in the treaties of 1817 and 1819 proved to be troublesome for Indians and white governments alike. Those Cherokees desiring to retain the 640-acre lots declared their intention to the Indian Agent. Meigs then had to issue an acknowledgement and maintain a record of names and locations. Nearly 150 reservations were filed in Meigs' office; the list included such prominent mixed-blood progressive Cherokees as John Ross, George Lowrey, John Martin, and Walter S. Adair.[41]

The chief difficulty arising over the reservations, however, was a legal one, and emerged from conflicts between the Cherokees and whites who entered the ceded lands. Many of the Indians were forced by white prejudice to leave their homes and withdraw within the boundaries of the nation. George Lowrey, for example, had to give up his Battle Creek (Tennessee) plantation. He moved his family to Wills Valley in the Alabama area, where he soon became prominent in local

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[39]Chickamauga Journal, 25 May 1818, in manuscripts of American Board Missions, 18.3.1, II; Ard Hoyt and others to Samuel Worcester, July 25, 1818, in *ibid.*, No. 112.

[40]Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, II, 177-81. A large part of the region ceded was in Tennessee.

[41]Notices of acceptance of Cherokee reservations may be found in the material for May-June, 1819, in CLC, GDA. See also "List of Cherokees entitled to Reservations," in Report of Samuel L. Hamilton (Office of Indian Affairs, War Department) to Governor of Georgia, Nov. 22, 1830, *ibid.*

and national affairs.[42] The aftermath of these withdrawals was a long series of litigations between Indian owners and white claimants. As Indian agent, Meigs was called upon to represent the Cherokees in many of these cases, especially those which were heard in Tennessee courts.[43]

Despite ill-feeling engendered by removal controversies, Return J. Meigs was able to maintain a generally friendly Cherokee attitude toward his government; and in this he performed one of his most important services as Indian agent. The value of his placating influence was effectively demonstrated during the War of 1812, when hostile Indians went on the warpath against the United States. Those nearest to the Cherokees were the Upper Creeks, whose desires to destroy white supremacy on the American continent had been drummed up earlier by Tecumseh and other promoters of his short-lived Indian confederacy. When this neighboring branch of the Creeks launched raids against United States posts in 1813, the Cherokees were showered with requests for assistance. Pleas came not only from the hostiles and the United States government, but from the Lower Creeks as well, who sought Cherokee help in crushing the revolt. Reactionaries within the Cherokee Council favored abandoning the path toward the white man's culture and joining the attacking Creeks. The friendly overtures of Agent Meigs and the active opposition of Cherokee Progressives led by John Lowery and the Ridge (later Major Ridge) swayed the Indian council. A force of volunteers was organized to fight along with the United States and the friendly Lower Creeks under the leadership of General Andrew Jackson.[44]

Altogether some eight hundred Cherokee participants in the Creek War of 1814 gave valuable assistance through their bravery and knowledge of Indian fighting. Led by capable native officers including

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[42]Penelope J. Allen, "Leaves from the Family Tree—The Lowery Family," Chattanooga *Sunday Times* (Magazine Section), May 10, 1936, p. 6. For all leading members of the family (including John) except George, the name is spelled "Lowery." For some reason, however, the writer has encountered more references to "Lowrey" in the case of George than the usual spelling, and therefore in this paper has used George Lowrey, but John Lowery.

[43]The Cherokees also used private attorneys in these cases. See Petition of Spencer Jarnagin for Legal Services Rendered Cherokee Nation, 1821-1837, in which Attorney Jarnagin asked $4,000 for having attended to "five or six hundred cases" arising from Cherokee reservation under the treaties of 1817 and 1819; this petition is among the manuscripts in the Private Collection of Mrs. Penelope J. Allen of Chattanooga, Tennessee.

[44]John Lowery to Meigs, Feb. 1, 1813; Meigs to Dearborn, July 30, Aug. 6, 1813; Mooney, "Myths," 88-90; R. S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians* (Norman, Okla., 1954), 182.

Colonel Gideon Morgan, Major John Lowery, and Captain Richard Brown, the Cherokees gave a particularly good account of themselves at the final important affray of the war, the Battle of Horseshoe Bend.[45]

The Creek War had unfortunate accompaniments for the Cherokee Indians. American troops marched through the nation going to and coming from the Creek country and inflicted serious depredations on Cherokee property. Meigs' office received many complaints about these unwarranted losses, which became sources of contention in subsequent treaty discussions. Although the treaty of March 22, 1816, promised justice for the losses, no serious attempt to repay Cherokees was made until the 1830's. On January 15, 1814, a "Claims Journal" containing more than seventy claims for troop damages was presented to Colonel Meigs. The total amount requested was $5,885, mostly for stolen and butchered livestock. One of the largest claims was made by William Chambers, who reported $725 worth of cattle, sheep, and swine taken. A more typical loss was suffered by The Big Cabbin (or Cabbin Smith): "17 bushels corn, 1 bull, 1 cow . . . , 1 sow . . . , total $27.00."[46]

In handling these and the other problems of an Indian agent, Return Jonathan Meigs performed useful service both to his government and to his red wards. Although technically an agent of the United States government acting as a buffer between the Indians and Washington, Meigs even so attempted to help the Cherokees. His interest in their welfare was revealed in numerous instances of individual counsel and assistance, some of which were probably well beyond the call of duty. Meigs' concern for Indian development in the white man's pattern blended with a desire to end frontier fighting. In 1819 he wrote Jeremiah Evarts, secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, on the subject of Cherokee missions, promising full support and cooperation. He hoped that attention would be concentrated on educating Cherokee children, since "the sentiments of

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[45]Mooney, "Myths," 93-96; John P. Arthur, *Western North Carolina: A History* (Raleigh, 1914), 292-94; Mason Crum, *Chief Junaluska* (n.p., n.d.) [3]; H. S. Halbert and T. H. Ball, *The Creek War of 1813 and 1814* (Chicago, 1895), chs. XIX and XX.

[46]Charles Hicks, Claims Journal for Depredations Suffered During Creek War, Manuscript in Allen Collection. For other Creek War claims filed during and after Cherokee Removal of 1838-1839, see "Cherokee Claims Papers," in *ibid.*, and in BIA Records. Some controversy over these claims for damages ensued between General Jackson and Agent Meigs in 1816 during which the latter sought to resist the efforts of the General to discredit the claims. See Greer J. Kimery, Return Jonathan Meigs, Cherokee Indian Agent, 1801-1823 (unpublished master's thesis, University of Tennessee, 1948), 60.

those of adult years, a few excepted, cannot be altered." After further encouraging statements for the missionary group, Meigs enlarged his remarks to include his own opinions on improving the Cherokees. He urged that the missions actively instruct in "the measures of civilization," to give the Indians information about "useful arts and the knowledge of letters." He pointed out that Indian fighting was a costly and mortal experience, and that although the instructional program might eventually cost "millions of dollars," it would be worth it to save "far vaster sums in human misery, death and wars."[47]

No deed of Return Jonathan Meigs more clearly suggests his deep affection for the Cherokees than that which brought an end to his life. On a cold night in January, 1823, the eighty-two year old Agent slept on a cold floor so that an aged Cherokee chief might have Meigs' comfortable quarters. The result of this kind and generous act was a siege of pneumonia which led shortly to his death.[48]

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[47]Meigs to Evarts, March 15, 1819, *Panoplist* (a religious magazine, Boston, 1805-1820), XV (1819), 181.

[48]*Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 509.

THE EARLY LITERATURE OF EAST TENNESSEE

By FOSTER PARK

Some years ago, writing of America's Middle West in its frontier period to about 1840, one of America's foremost historians of frontier literature, Ralph Leslie Rusk, pointed out:

> The reflection in literature of the vast phenomenon of the pioneer West is to be seen properly only in the great bulk of mediocre pamphleteering and journalism—and, to a much lesser extent, bookmaking —of men who wrote only incidentally to their participation in the economic, political, and religious turmoil which engaged almost their whole attention.[1]

Rusk's generalization upon the basis of his study of the western states to the north of Tennessee may be applied with equal cogency to the region of East Tennessee in its fifty years of cultural beginnings.

From the introduction of printing into the area by George Roulstone in 1791, to 1840, when almost every community of several hundred population or above had its own printing establishment and weekly newspaper, journalistic outpourings constituted the bulk of East Tennessee publications.[2] There appeared not only newspapers and occasionally periodicals of a more specialized appeal, but also religious and political pamphlets, government proclamations and records, and even histories and volumes of belles-lettres. Naturally in frontier Tennessee, and even later, printed productions of a more practical nature far outweighed in quantity and significance the infrequent offerings of "polite literature." But the presence at all of fiction, literary essays, and poetry is a tribute to the æsthetic and cultural interests of a people necessarily concerned chiefly with earning a livelihood and satisfying basic needs.

This study is limited to four books of the latter group and to their authors or compilers. Cultural activities such as colleges and academies,

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[1] *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*, 2 vols. (New York, 1926), I, 77.

[2] The complete record of early East Tennessee printing and publishing is yet to be written. The fullest and most nearly accurate accounts of journalism in the area are Moses White, East Tennessee Journalism, a typewritten copy of an unpublished address before the Tennessee Press Association about 1878, in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, and C. E. Masterson, History of Knoxville Journalism (unpublished Master's thesis, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, 1933). For the story of Roulstone's initial printing efforts in Tennessee, see Samuel C. Williams, "George Roulstone: Father of the Tennessee Press," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 17 (1945), 51-60. Another valuable account of publishing in one East Tennessee community is Paul M. Fink, "The Early Press of Jonesboro," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 10 (1938), 57-70.

libraries, lyceums, literary and historical societies, and theatrical performances undoubtedly helped to stimulate literary interests;[3] yet it is in the writers themselves and in their published works that one is able to measure the value of the creative literary art of early East Tennessee. Consequently, in something of an exploratory approach to the whole problem of East Tennessee literature, I have summarized the available information about the following four authors: (1) John Robinson, a Tennessean, who in 1810 published a volume of essays called *The Savage* in Philadelphia; (2) Charles W. Todd, who published Tennessee's first real novel, *Woodville; or, the Anchoret Reclaimed,* in Knoxville in 1832; (3) William Fields, an author-compiler, whose *Scrap Book,* an anthology of poetry and prose published in Knoxville in 1833, was an anticipation of the later high tide of American gift books of similar composition; and (4) Walter Marshall McGill, whose long narrative poem, *The Western World,* which sang the glories of American republicanism, came from a Maryville press in 1837.

John Robinson's *The Savage*

One of the most interesting of all the early volumes by Tennessee authors is the first book of a belletristic nature published by a native Tennessean. John Robinson's *The Savage* after 146 years is still capable of furnishing the thoughtful reader with several hours of delightful entertainment. However, the author is far less known than the book, even to Tennessee antiquarians, for no Tennessee history or other notice has ever devoted to him more than a few lines.

Although most of the facts of Robinson's life are hopelessly lost, a letter from John McGaughey, who had known Robinson personally in Greene County, to William Duane of Philadelphia, dated April 30, 1868, gives many of the pertinent biographical details.[4] Robinson was born on the banks of the Holston River in Washington County, Virginia—in 1782 according to McGaughey, although the obituary notice of Robinson in the *Knoxville Register,* October 8, 1828, and the date

[3]For further information about these allied cultural activities see Foster Park, The Early Literature of East Tennessee (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1954).

[4]This letter was published in *The American Historical Record, and Repertory of Notes and Queries* (Philadelphia), III (October, 1874), 466-67. The biographical information about Robinson is taken primarily from McGaughey's letter. The letter does contain errors of fact, however, especially regarding the date of Robinson's death, which has been followed by many bibliographers, including those of the Library of Congress.

of his graduation from college both seem to indicate an earlier date, perhaps 1775 or 1776. He was educated in Tennessee at Washington College under the direction of the Reverend Samuel Doak and was said to be "distinguished, while at college, for extraordinary quickness and facility in learning."[5] He was the third graduate of that college, receiving his diploma in 1797.[6] He took up residence sometime before 1800 in Carter County and became an ardent friend of Colonel Landon Carter, for whom the county had been named. Colonel Carter was a close friend of Governor John Sevier and from 1796 to 1800, the year of his death, was state treasurer for the districts of Washington and Hamilton.[7]

Robinson was young and ambitious, and as McGaughey tells it:

> Unfortunately, at a public meeting of the people, a quarrel ensued. Robinson, in defending Colonel Carter, stabbed and killed a man by the name of Musgrove. Colonel Carter and his friends, who were numerous, protected Robinson and prevailed on him to leave the country, which he did, and stayed away for several years.

It was during this exile from Tennessee (which must have begun just before the turn of the century) that Robinson wandered to Philadelphia and there wrote and published pseudonymously his collection of essays. While there, Robinson was employed as "a proofreader for the publishing booksellers, and as a writer for the few original periodicals with which that city then abounded." The source of this information, Samuel H. Laughlin, was born and grew up in Washington County, Virginia, and he published a notice of *The Savage* in the *National Banner and Nashville Whig,* of which he was then editor, in the fall of 1833.[8] The Nashville editor further stated that after his residence in Philadelphia, Robinson returned to the western part of Virginia, near Abingdon, "where he lived a considerable time, a most exemplary life, spent in great privacy, among his friends, and relations, previous to his final departure and death."

In any event, McGaughey declares that Robinson returned to East Tennessee about 1824, where he was befriended by Colonel George T. Gillespie, a prominent landowner and political leader in Greene

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[5]Obituary notice, *Knoxville Register,* October 8, 1828.

[6]Howard Ernest Carr, *Washington College; A Study of an Attempt to Provide Higher Education in Eastern Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1935), 171.

[7]*Journals of the Senate and House of the Second General Assembly of the State of Tennessee Held at Knoxville, 1797 & 1798* (Reprinted, Kingsport, Tennessee, 1933), 138.

[8]Reprinted in *Knoxville Republican,* November 13, 1833.

County, whose wife, Eliza, was the daughter of Landon and Elizabeth Carter.[9] Unfortunately, it was upon his return that Robinson began to manifest symptoms of insanity, and he thereafter lived a restless and frequently agitated existence, interspersed with periods of melancholia and despair. He wandered about the country from time to time, once or twice went back to Philadelphia, but eventually returned to Greene County where he stayed at McGaughey's home until at his own request the students of Tusculum College built him a cabin in the woods about a mile from McGaughey's house. Shortly before Robinson's death he moved to the home of John Kerr, whose wife was a relative of his, where he was apparently suffering from the advanced stages of tuberculosis. There he died on August 7, 1828,[10] at the age of fifty-three according to his obituary in the *Register*, and was buried in Mount Bethel graveyard near Greeneville, but even by 1868 his grave could no longer be located.

Robinson, according to McGaughey, was ardently loved by his fellow students and all who knew him. He was described as being "tall and spare-made, with high forehead covered with dark hair, and piercing black eyes, and before his misfortune was considered handsome." He never married, and was noted for his seclusive nature, especially during the latter years of his illness, when he sat for hours at a time under an apple tree in Mr. Kerr's yard without speaking. He apparently supported himself after his return to Tennessee by working part time as a farm laborer; McGaughey stated that he frequently worked on his farm and "would do tolerably well, except at times he seemed to be spellbound until you could succeed by the introduction of some new subject to attract his attention." During these last years Robinson also worked on a new spelling book, but never finished it, and the manuscript was lost. In view of Robinson's frequent satirical treatments of practicing Christians in *The Savage*, McGaughey's description of his religious faith is interesting: "In relation to the Christian religion, founded upon the Bible, he seemed to have no fixed opinions, although he often told the writer he firmly believed in

[9]See will of Elizabeth Carter, Carter County, Record of Wills and Inventories, (1794-1847) (typewritten copy, University of Tennessee Library), 93-97. All references to county records cited in this study are to the typewritten copies of original records, made by the Work Projects Administration Historical Records Project for Tennessee. Page citations are to the original pagination.

[10]Obituary notice, *Knoxville Register*, October 8, 1828. McGaughey was mistaken in giving 1833 as the year of his death.

the authenticity of the Bible; yet to him the Christian religion was all a mystery."

The Savage was originally published in Philadelphia, much in the manner of Addison and Steele's *Spectator* papers in England nearly a century before, in a sequence of separate essays, probably beginning about 1808.[11] In 1810 they were collected and published by Thomas S. Manning in a volume of 312 pages.[12] Manning also issued a reprint edition (undated) in Philadelphia sometime before 1820, part of which was sold in England through the noted publishing firm of Cadell and Davies. Another edition of 120 pages, which was said to have been financed by Mr. John Wiltbank, a bell-founder,[13] appeared in Philadelphia in 1838, published by John Ferral at the office of the *National Laborer.*

However, the edition which most concerns Tennesseans is that which was issued in Knoxville in 1833 from the press of F. S. Heiskell, the editor and publisher of the *Knoxville Register.* Apparently there were plans for reprinting *The Savage* as early as 1830, shortly after Robinson's death, for an advertisement in the *Knoxville Register* of January 26, 1831, urged all persons holding subscriptions to *The Savage* to return them as soon as possible. However, the first definite proposal in print for republishing Robinson's work was contained in the Knoxville *Republican* for September 25, 1833. Much was made of the fact that Robinson was a Tennessee author, and the promoter of this edition, a Knoxville printer named William Barry, apparently received enough encouragement to justify republication, for the book was ready for distribution in December.[14] Costing $1.00 bound in boards, or $1.25 in leather, and with reasonably good typography for the times, the Knoxville edition of 324 pages apparently attracted considerable attention, there being extended notices of it in at least two

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[11]See "Proposals, for Re-Publishing . . . ," *Knoxville Republican,* September 25, 1833.

[12]See bibliographical references in Joseph Sabin, *Bibliotheca Americana. A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, from Its Discovery to the Present Time,* 29 vols. (New York, 1868-1936), XVII, 395-96.

[13]Note by William Duane, *The American Historical Record* (Philadelphia), III (October, 1874), 466.

[14]*Knoxville Republican,* December 18, 1833. There are at least nine extant copies of the 1833 edition, including one each in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, and the Tennessee State Library, Nashville. The Pennsylvania State Library, Harrisburg, owns a copy of the 1810 Philadelphia edition as well as that of 1838.

Nashville newspapers, as well as in the *Register* and the *Republican* in Knoxville.[15]

In all of the editions *The Savage* was published under the pseudonym of "Piomingo, a Headman and Warrior of the Muscogulgee Nation." Antedating James Fenimore Cooper's accounts of the "noble savages" by at least thirteen years, the essays may have been influenced by the satire of Washington Irving's *Salmagundi Papers* (1807-1808) and his Knickerbocker *History of New York* (1809) which appeared just at the time Robinson was presumably writing.

The book itself is a series of more or less loosely joined essays, many of which exemplify the polished, urbane Addisonian style of the eighteenth century and many of which border on the kind of fictional tale which Irving used so successfully later in *The Sketch Book.* It purports to be the work of a magnificent Indian who "inhaled with his first breath a love for savage independence."[16] Robinson under the guise of Piomingo concludes his Introductory Address as follows:

> The good people of this republic have derived amusement from the journals of polished travellers through barbarous nations: let us for once reverse the picture and see what entertainment can be drawn from the observations of a savage upon the manners and customs, vices and virtues, of those who boast the advantages of refinement and civilization.[17]

However, a recent critic, Roy Harvey Pearce, in his *The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization* (Baltimore, 1953), has complained:

> The dead end of this primitivistic tradition is reached in such an incoherent fantasy as *The Savage* . . . . Piomingo is hardly an Indian, exhibiting, as he does, explicit acquaintance (and disgust) with Joe Miller, Fanny Hill, and others like them, talking learnedly in the very language and manner he attacks. He is as incoherent, as confused, and as inconsistent as the doctrine which Robinson makes him preach.[18]

Of course Piomingo is not a real Indian, although his name may very well have been borrowed from the famous Chickasaw chief and friend of James Robertson, founder of Nashville.[19] He is no more a real

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[15] *Nashville Republican and State Gazette,* November 19, 1833; *National Banner and Nashville Whig,* December 25, 1833; *Knoxville Register,* December 4, 1833; and *Knoxville Republican,* November 13, 1833.

[16] *The Savage* (Knoxville, 1833), 3.

[17] *Ibid.,* 4.

[18] P. 146.

[19] One of the best accounts of the real Piomingo is contained in James H. Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation* (Louisville, 1922), 331 f. Robinson undoubtedly knew of him, since Piomingo was sufficiently prominent to have had an audience with President George Washington in Philadelphia in 1794. Robinson probably made him a Muscogulgee rather

Indian than Irving's Diedrich Knickerbocker is a real Dutchman. It is not necessary for a writer who satirizes civilization in the way Robinson does to keep his ostensible narrator completely "in character." What is more important, the vanities and pretenses of so-called civilized men and women are shown for what they really are, at least on certain occasions.

Admittedly Robinson is not always consistent in his point of view; likewise he does not formulate any orderly, practical theory of life. His extreme individualism is occasionally ridiculous and his sporadic pessimism disconcerting. But his satire is biting and to the point; his discussion of such varied subjects as "Friendship," "The Schoolmaster," "Justice," and "Scandal," provocative and often hilarious; and he could indeed write rhythmic prose as is shown by such an essay as "Recollections of Infancy," which was reprinted through the various editions of Fields' *Scrap Book.* He could satirize his own avocation by announcing in the essay "Literary Intelligence" that a fellow writer, Peppermint Canto, was announcing to the public his intention of composing *The Segariad,* an epic poem, in twelve books, which was to have three parts, a beginning, a middle, and an end.[20]

No mere savage, of course, could write as Robinson did. His references and quotations range from Plato, Horace, and the *Koran* to Laurence Sterne, Dr. Samuel Johnson, and the author of *The Columbiad.* In "The Savage at the Theatre" he is appreciative of Hamlet as played by John Howard Payne but justly critical of the artificial gestures and attitudes characteristic of early nineteenth century American theater. In "Effects of Civilization" he writes in almost Whitmanlike catalogs alternated with the decorous phrases of the best eighteenth century prose:

> We Indians study the nature of our game, the time of the day, and seasons of the year. We know where to find the buffalo in the morning; and where they may be discovered in the heat of the day. We know when they visit the low marshy salt springs, and when they descend to cool themselves in the river. We can rouse the deer from his lair in the frosty morning, and trace him over the hills by the newly fallen snow. We surprise the wolf in his gloomy haunts, or destroy him in his foraging excursions. . . . . .
>
> We *see* the slightest traces in the forests; we *hear* the least rustling

than a Chickasaw, as he actually was, because the former group was reputed to be the most nearly advanced toward true civilization of all the southeastern tribes.

20*The Savage,* 50-51. This was probably Robinson's way of commenting on Joel Barlow's *The Columbiad,* which had appeared in 1807.

> among the branches; and we *smell* the approaches of the serpent. We *climb* round the rocks, *slip* through the cane, and *skulk* along the valleys. . . . . .
> We walk proudly on the hills; and from the towering summits on the Appalachian mountains, we look down, with ineffable contempt, on the *brutelike drudgery* of civilized life.[21]

"The Hill of Life" is an allegory, similar in form to *Pilgrim's Progress.* "The Devil" is a dialogue between Piomingo and an almost likeable Satan, an early use of this character in American literature. *"The Walk"* includes a lengthy appraisal of Dr. Samuel Johnson ("a lion in chains") which is as just as it is pithy. "Slavery" is as penetrating an attack on northern wage slavery as it is on Negro slavery in the South. "Savage Correspondence" is a satirical account of "a man dressed in black, with a book full of talks"—not specifically anti-Christian, but a succinct appraisal of the difference between religious profession and deeds.

As the first book of belles-lettres by a Tennessean, *The Savage* is indeed a commendable performance. In some sixty essays John Robinson has explored most of the crucial issues of civilization. If his criticisms are sometimes unjust, he has exaggerated no more than have many other authors of far greater reputations as thinkers. Many duller writers of the nineteenth century would have done well to imitate the vitality and cogency of Robinson's work.

Charles W. Todd's *Woodville*

Charles William Todd, who was the author of Tennessee's first real novel, is one of the enigmas of Tennessee literature. The biographical details of most of his life have thus far escaped the historian. His whereabouts before 1828 and after 1834 are still unknown. Even the details of this known six-year period have been frequently garbled by Tennessee historians, who usually state that he was a student at Maryville College and a Presbyterian minister. Neither statement is strictly accurate.

Todd may not have been a native East Tennessean, for references to Todds in this area before the 1820's are infrequent. There is a possibility that he was one of the Todds of Jefferson County, he may have descended from the large group of Kentucky Todds, or he may have been one of the Todds of Wilson County in what was then West

[21] *Ibid.*, 12-13. The italics are Robinson's.

Tennessee. On November 21, 1820, a marriage bond was posted in Lebanon as surety for the marriage of William Todd to Elizabeth Steele,[22] but that this William was the later author seems unlikely. The first definite record is the notation in the minutes of Union Presbytery in East Tennessee for October 8, 1828, that Dr. Isaac Anderson of the Southern and Western Theological Seminary (which did not become Maryville College until 1842) introduced, among others, William Todd, a young man "of good moral and religious character" who desired to be taken under the care of Presbytery with the intention of becoming a minister.[23] Todd was excused from examination by Presbytery on literary courses because of satisfactory testimonials that he "had gone through a regular course of literature." He had probably received his training in basic subjects under Dr. Anderson before beginning his theological work, although he may well have attended one or the other of the various Tennessee colleges in existence in the 1820's. In any event Todd received training in divinity at Dr. Anderson's Seminary in Maryville[24] where in addition to study under the venerable president and professor of theology, he also struggled with the sacred languages (Greek, Hebrew, and Latin) under the Reverend William Eagleton and church history and government under Dr. Robert Hardin. In the two years after 1828 he was usually listed as being present at meetings of Presbytery and on October 6, 1829, he was officially licensed.[25] According to the custom of the time, he probably served as a supply minister in the various Presbyterian congregations whenever the need arose, and at the October, 1830, meeting of Presbytery he was reported preaching as ordered.[26]

However, he was never ordained as a minister. His alliance with the Presbyterians came to an abrupt end in late 1830 when F. S. Heiskell printed for him a thirty-six page pamphlet entitled "An Apology for Leaving the Presbyterian and Joining with the Protestant Episcopal Church; in a Letter Addressed to Union Presbytery of East Ten-

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22 Jeanette Tillotson Acklen (comp.), *Tennessee Records. Bible Records and Marriage Bonds* (Nashville, 1933), 456.

23 Union Presbytery, Records (typewritten copy in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville), Vol. 3 (1823-1828), 114.

24 Todd is listed as one of the ministers who were educated there during Dr. Anderson's thirty-eight years as head of the institution. See Samuel Tyndale Wilson, *Isaac Anderson: Founder and First President of Maryville College* (Maryville, 1932), 161.

25 Union Presbytery, Records, Vol. 4 (1829-1849), 14.

26 *Ibid.*, 42.

nessee."[27] At the next meeting of Presbytery, in April, 1831, Todd's name was officially dropped from the roll. Todd's pamphlet consists almost entirely of arguments from Scripture, the writings of the early Church Fathers, and the history of the Church, designed to show that the episcopal form of church government is the proper one. Unfortunately it contains little in the way of biographical information about his life up to that time. Episcopal services had been held in Knoxville by visiting ministers as early as 1826, and it is possible that he was one of the two persons confirmed by Bishop Levi S. Ives of the Episcopal Church upon his visit to Knoxville in June, 1832.[28]

Todd may have assisted Heiskell for a time in the publication of the *Register,* just as William Fields and Felix Kirk Zollicoffer of later Nashville newspaper fame did in 1833, since he undoubtedly left the seminary at or shortly before the publication of his pamphlet. Probably some time in 1831 he moved on to Madisonville in Monroe County, where in the following February he was selected to deliver the main oration at the centennial celebration of the birth of George Washington to be held on the 22nd.[29] Honored as he was by such an eminent place among his fellow citizens, Todd did more than was expected by delivering an extended eulogy of America's first President "in pure heroic measure and in the most energetic language." The reporter of the celebration could not praise Todd's efforts highly enough as he told how "the immortal Washington was brought forward" in the rear of a brilliant galaxy of characters in the following lofty strain:

> Were these men great? then how much more than great
> Was he whose birth we this day celebrate?
> Ten mouths, ten tongues, an everlasting voice
> And breast of adamant would ne'er suffice,
> To tell the mighty deeds which he has done
> Who bore the deathless name of Washington.

Todd was later asked by a prominent group of fellow townsmen to allow his "Poetical Eulogy" to be published in the *Knoxville Register,* but in a letter dated February 25, 1832, published with the notice of the celebration, he refused, implying that he was withholding it from

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[27]The only known extant copy of this pamphlet is in the Presbyterian Historical Society Library in Philadelphia. Since I have had no opportunity to examine it, I am indebted to Mr. Norman A. McNairn, Assistant Research Historian of that society, for information concerning it (Letter to the author, dated June 17, 1954).

[28]Charles M. Seymour (ed.), *A History of One Hundred Years of St. John's Episcopal Church in Knoxville, Tennessee,* 1846-1946 (Knoxville, 1947), 1-2.

[29]See the report of this celebration in the *Knoxville Register,* March 21, 1832.

publication at that time in order that he might publish it later with other writings. There is considerable possibility that Todd had previously contributed to the newspapers under a pseudonym,[30] and he may have been planning the publication of a book of poems as well as his novel.

In any event *Woodville* was brought forth anonymously from Heiskell's press about July, 1832. Todd's occupation in that year is unknown, but in the fall of the following year he edited during its short existence a newspaper called *The Tennessean,* published by Henderson, Johnston, and Jordan of Madisonville.[31] By that time he had married, for in October, 1833, the state legislature was petitioned by Flora M. Todd to grant her a divorce from Charles W. Todd of Monroe County, and the bill of divorce was passed on November 29.[32]

On May 14, 1834, Todd was indicted by the Monroe County grand jury "for an assault with an intent to kill and murder in the first degree,"[33] of which affair little is known. It may have had something to do with his former wife, for he had filed a suit of some kind against Flora Todd, Samuel Blackburn, and Nancy Blackburn [Were the Blackburns Flora's parents?], which was dismissed on May 30th of that same year when he did not appear to prosecute.[34] Neither did he appear on November 17, 1834, to answer the grand jury indictment, and an *alias capias* (a writ to arrest) was awarded.[35] Of Todd's life after 1834 nothing definite is known. Like so many other Tennesseans of that decade he may have "gone West," possibly to Missouri. A C. W. Todd did edit a newspaper called the *Western Immigrant* in Boonville, Missouri, in 1839, changing its name to the *Boonville Observer* a year later. He was there until March, 1843, when he and his partner, T. J. Boggs, who had joined him in January, 1842, sold out to F. M. Caldwell and J. S. Collins, but there is nothing definite which connects this Todd to Tennessee's first novelist.[36] In 1872 a marriage

[30]See the poem "Greece" by "Powhattan," Maryville, in the *Register,* September 1, 1830, which may possibly have been Todd's.

[31]At least seven extant copies are known. The McClung Collection and the Tennessee State Library each possesses a single copy.

[32]*National Banner and Nashville Whig,* August 16, 1833; *Nashville Republican and State Gazette,* October 17, 1833; Tennessee General Assembly, *Private Acts* (1833), 134.

[33]Monroe County, Circuit Court Minutes (1828-1834), 535.

[34]*Ibid.,* 572.

[35]*Ibid.,* 628.

[36]This limited information about the C. W. Todd of Boonville was graciously supplied by Floyd C. Shoemaker, Secretary, The State Historical Society of Missouri (Letter to the author, dated February 27, 1954), and C. W. Kirton, editor of *The Boonville Daily News* (Letter to the author, dated June 22, 1954).

license was issued to C. W. Todd and Miss Kittie Marsh in Hamilton County, Tennessee,[37] but it is unlikely that this Todd was the earlier author.

On July 9, 1832, Todd had deposited for copyright the title of his book, *Woodville; or, The Anchoret Reclaimed*, although his name did not appear on its title page upon publication. On July 18, 1832, the *Knoxville Register* noticed it thus:

> This is, we believe, the first novel that has ever been written and published in East Tennessee. The story is interesting, the style good, and provided it had been composed in England and praised by the reviewers, it would be a great book. To the lovers of this species of reading we recommend it, and feel persuaded that they will find it highly entertaining and fascinating.

Sometime within the next few weeks, however, William Gibbes Hunt, scholarly editor of the *National Banner and Nashville Whig*, reviewed it with great severity and caustic wit.[38] A friend of Todd's, "Menippus," replied in the *Register* of September 19, 1832, retorting that Hunt's criticism was "pert, unfeeling, impudent . . . a disgrace to the columns of the National Banner." The *Register* on August 1, 1832, had already published a review of *Woodville* signed "P" [James Park?] which was on the whole laudatory, although the author was said to possess "talents capable of much improvement." There were also other reviews in western towns. In a letter published in the *Register* on April 10, 1833, Todd himself struck back at an unfavorable review which had appeared in the *Louisville Herald*—"A more gross misrepresentation I have never seen." He also mentioned that he had received a number of other reviews since publication, many of which he thought just, and on the whole his reply to "Eugene Orlando," the *Herald* critic, was restrained and reasonable.

Todd's severest reviewers, however, were probably right. Called on its title page "A Descriptive Tale," *Woodville* was a typical inferior fictional product of that extravagantly romantic time. Actually, it was not Tennessee's first published book-length fictional work, for *The Life of Joseph*, published in Nashville in 1811, was a compound of imagination and Bible narrative. But to *Woodville* certainly goes the honor of being the first independently conceived novel. However, its sticky

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[37]Hamilton County, Marriage Records, Book 2 (1864-1874), 196.

[38]George F. Mellen, "First Tennessee Novel," an article from the *Knoxville Sentinel*, November 26, 1910, contained in Miscellaneous Papers of George F. Mellen (McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville), Vol. I.

sentiment and its profusion of refinement and decorum were in direct line of descent from Oliver Goldsmith and Jane Austen, without their redeeming features. Appearing in the same year as John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn,* its intricacy of plot, its wealth of descriptive and moralizing material, and its inconsistency of detail mark *Woodville* as a demonstrably amateur work.

Its plot has been accurately summarized by an earlier student of Tennessee literature, Dr. George F. Mellen, as follows:

> The hero, Allison Woodville, madly falls in love with his half sister without knowing the relationship. He is frustrated in an elopement, and the girl then yields to mother's wishes for an alliance with a young degenerate of blood and wealth. The lover goes to Europe, joins with Marco Bozzaris in the fight for Greek freedom, is pursued by the young wife's husband in a fit of jealousy, and slays him in a duel. When informed of the romance of his origin, which is entirely honorable, he flees into solitude, and lives a solitaire's life. Reclaimed eventually, he marries and is "ever happy thereafter."[39]

Echoes of the Byronic hero and overtones of the Gothic novel are apparent even in this short summary. In the preface Todd asserted that the story was based upon a real history known to him, but that he had been unable to secure the permission of the participants to publish an account without disguise. Be that as it may, the details are so improbable and the chronology so mixed that fiction undoubtedly predominates over fact.

Woodville enjoys some distinction in that it used Montvale Springs in the eastern part of Blount County (which Todd undoubtedly knew from his days in Maryville) as part of its setting,[40] and in its use of a Negro character who served as Woodville's trusted servant. The speech of Ned the servant furnishes the only comic relief in the course of the plot and is also an early use in American literature of Negro dialect. For example, Ned remarks on one occasion:

> "No, sir; I've no 'casion to sleep in daytime,—today no how; fur kase I slept so sound last night, when I once got at it. When I once got at it I say, Massa Allison; fur little Molly, you knows little Molly, my only datter, tree years old last Christmas. Oh! de little darlin chuck! but de little baist kept sich a squallin dat I couldn't git to sleep till a' most midnight; but when I once got at it, as I said afore, I tell you what, the way I snored was the right way."[41]

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[39] *Ibid.*

[40] Montvale was also employed as a setting by Sidney Lanier in his only novel, *Tiger-Lilies* (1867). See Nathalia Wright, "Montvale Springs Under the Proprietorship of Sterling Lanier, 1857-1863," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 19 (1947), 48-63.

[41] *Woodville,* 80-81.

However, Todd was inclined to be excessively wordy and ornate:

> When I awoke the sun in cloudless spendor had sunk to rest, and fair Cynthia, whose pale beams flowing through the extensive aisles of the forest, dispensed a mimic day, was wading in her crescent form, along her common course through the azure ocean suspended above.[42] Oh, Jealousy! thou accursed spirit! the terror of the name can put to flight the tender images of hope and can induce despair at a moment when the sweetest impulses of nature have kindled the torch of joy![43]

The variety of references to or quotations from such authors as Byron, Dryden, Scott, Cowper, and Paley do little to redeem Todd's novel from its deficiencies.

In the heaviness of its style and the lack of differentiation in its characters *Woodville* has little to recommend it. However, as an expression of the intellectual currents in the United States of that time, and in the section of the state from which it sprang, this first Tennessee novel is noteworthy and historically significant in our state literary history. Dr. Mellen has correctly concluded, "The book *Woodville* is more interesting and important as an index and aspiration than from any inherent merit."[44]

William Fields' *Scrap Book*

The most widely popular Tennessee literary production of this early period was *The Literary and Miscellaneous Scrap Book* of William Fields, Jr., which first appeared in Knoxville in 1833. Fields was probably born and raised near Spring Hill in what was then West Tennessee.[45] The 1820 census of Maury County lists his father, William Fields, as the head of a household of seven males and six females. William, Jr., probably was one of the boys then in the 10-16 age group. The details of his education are unknown. It is possible that he learned the printing trade in either Nashville or Columbia, but by 1831 or 1832 he was employed by F. S. Heiskell in Knoxville, on whose press he published the first edition of his anthology. He undoubtedly assisted in the reprinting of Robinson's *The Savage* that same year. In the fall of 1833 Fields joined a coalition of Nashville and Knoxville printers in an effort to get from the legislature the contract for the public printing of the state. When his group was passed

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[42] *Ibid.*, 2.
[43] *Ibid.*, 195.
[44] Mellen, "First Tennessee Novel," *op. cit.*
[45] [Goodspeed] *History of Tennessee,* Maury County edition (Nashville, 1886), 774.

over and another chosen, there was considerable comment in the state press about the method of selection.[46]

By 1834 he was in Columbia assisting Felix K. Zollicoffer with the *Columbia Observer,* which was begun that summer, and on October 30 of that same year he was issued a license in Davidson County to marry Miss Minerva H. Mays.[47] He and Zollicoffer were selected in the group of "Printers to the State" by the state legislature of 1835,[48] but late in 1837 he moved to Liberty County in the southeastern part of Texas.[49] Fields was elected to the house of representatives of the Texas legislature in 1847, representing Polk and Liberty counties, and served until 1855. The next year he was appointed state engineer, and died in Hempstead, Texas, on September 9, 1858. In the last years of his life he paid at least one return visit to Knoxville, the *Register* on June 17, 1858, recording his recent visit and giving some details of his life and of his *Scrap Book.*

Proposals for publishing the *Scrap Book* by subscription appeared in the *Register,* for which Fields was working, as early as May 16, 1832. The notice was signed by Fields and a fellow printer, Lawson Gifford. After stating that they had been laying by for a considerable time "scraps" for the publication, they wrote: "Besides our own acquisitions, we shall have access to a choice store of interesting matter, selected by persons of taste and judgment." Offering their subscribers a handsome book of approximately six hundred pages at $3.00 a copy, Fields and Gifford promised "a greater variety of matter than has ever been published in one volume."

However, by the fall of 1832 Gifford had moved on to Jonesboro as one of the three editors of the *Washington Republican and Farmers' Journal,* at which place he later edited the *Tennessee Sentinel* for a number of years.[50] In October Fields was acting alone in advertising the *Scrap Book,* offering to accept almost any kind of produce in payment from his subscribers.[51] News of the proposed book must have

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[46]See *Knoxville Republican,* October 23, 1833; *Nashville Republican and State Gazette,* October 29, November 2, 1833.

[47]Davidson County, Marriage Record Book (mimeographed transcript; Nashville, 1952), Vol. I (1789-1837), 462.

[48]See title page of the *Journal of the Senate, of the State of Tennessee, at the Twenty-First General Assembly Held at Nashville* (Columbia, 1835).

[49]A brief account of Fields' later years in Texas is contained in Walter Prescott Webb (ed.), *The Handbook of Texas,* 2 vols. (Austin, 1952), I, 597. The statements concerning Fields' early life in this sketch are not to be relied on.

[50]Fink, "Early Press of Jonesboro," *loc. cit.,* 63, 65.

[51]*Knoxville Register,* October 31, 1832.

been widely circulated, for in the October advertisement he mentioned agents in a number of different counties and gave testimonials from Columbia and Pulaski readers. When the *Scrap Book* was finally ready for distribution, he asked the *Nashville Banner, Western Weekly Review, Western Mercury, Warren Register, Florence Gazette, Huntsville Democrat,* and *Southern Advocate* to inform subscribers of the fact.[52] The printing of the book was completed in September, 1833, and then bound by R. D. Jourolmon. The binding materials and the engraving of Leonardo da Vinci's painting of "The Last Supper," which served as a frontispiece, were obtained in the East.[53]

It was indeed a handsome job for its day. The thick leather binding had ornate gold tooling around the edges and on the spine, and the printing of this vast amount of reading material under such primitive conditions was remarkably free from typographical errors. The reviews were apparently unanimously favorable, quotations from those of the *Virginia Republican* and the *Nashville Banner* being reprinted in the *Knoxville Republican.*[54]

An identical reprint was issued in Knoxville four years later, with the substitution of 1837 for 1833 on the title page the only change. After his settlement in Texas, Fields revised his collection somewhat, omitting several of the earlier items and adding other material, chiefly on Texas and the political controversies of the day. This revised edition was published by J. B. Lippincott and Company in Philadelphia in 1851. This edition, which was advertised at $2.00 in 1856, was reprinted unchanged in 1855, 1856, 1858, 1860, 1872, 1878, 1884, and 1890.

The contents of the *Scrap Book* are indicated on its first title page: *The Literary and Miscellaneous Scrap Book Consisting of Tales and Anecdotes—Biographical, Historical, Patriotic, Moral, Religious, and Sentimental Pieces in Prose and Poetry.* The vast majority of these items were selections from the newspapers, periodicals, and popular books of the day. Many were poems, tales, and essays which had earlier been reprinted in the *Knoxville Register* from their original sources.

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[52] *Knoxville Republican,* October 23, 1833.

[53] *Knoxville Register,* September 18, 1833.

[54] October 23, 1833. A number of libraries own one or more of the editions of the *Scrap Book,* although naturally the early Knoxville issues are considerably rarer than the later editions.

The only selections in the first edition identified as being the work of Tennessee writers are as follows:

"American Liberty," an extract from a speech by Felix Grundy
"Extracts from an Address" [on temperance] by the Reverend F. A. Ross
"Extracts from an Address" [on temperance] by the Reverend Stephen Foster
"The Hours," an essay by F. K. Zollicoffer
"Recollections of Infancy," from John Robinson's *The Savage*
"Valediction, Addressed to the young ladies of the Knoxville Female Academy" by Joseph Eastabrook, Principal

In the revised edition Fields also included two of his own compositions: "To Mary. *Lines Written in an Album,*" a poem, and an extract from a speech which he had made in the Texas house of representatives on the Santa Fe question. Fields was also possibly the author of several of the shorter prose selections which served as "fillers" between the longer, more important pieces. Many of these were pointedly didactic; for example, on page 66 of the revised edition the reader is cautioned, "When thou art tempted to throw a stone in anger, try if thou canst pick it up without bending thy body; if not, stop thy hand."

The items of non-fiction far outnumbered the pieces of poetry and the half dozen or so fictional tales; because of the moralistic and sentimental quality of most of the selections, the anthology is hopelessly dull by modern standards. But that the selections were typical of the first half of the nineteenth century is evident by the most cursory examination of the literature of the times. Pathetic essays on "My Mother's Grave," "A Sister's Love," and "The Rosebud," together with such religious and patriotic pieces as William Wirt's "Eloquence of Patrick Henry," William Paley's "Description of the Day of Judgment," and "Christ on Calvary," an essay by the Milford Bard, were as appropriate in the *Scrap Book* as similar items were in *The Token, The Locket,* and other giftbooks of a century ago.

The fictional tales, printed for the most part anonymously except for Willis Gaylord Clark's story of "Everard Graham" and S. C. Hall's "The Anxious Wife," were as sentimental and bombastic as Todd's novel. The poetry was in general no different. The Milford Bard's "The Dreadful Dragon" and William Cullen Bryant's "The Damsel of Peru" were supplemented in the revised edition by Longfellow's "The Village Blacksmith," George Pope Morris's flamboyant "Wood-

man, Spare That Tree!" and "To My Mother," written by a convict in the Ohio Penitentiary.

Fields indeed ranged far and wide in his selection of material. In addition to writers such as Byron, Thomas Campbell, Washington Irving, and Daniel Webster, who are still well-known today, once popular but now forgotten authors, such as Miss Delia S. Bacon, Thomas H. Bayly, Mrs. Lydia Howard Sigourney, and the Reverend George W. Doane, were also represented. Items were taken from a wide variety of works; the *Edinburgh Literary Journal,* Frazer's *Travels in Khorasan,* Lyell's *Geology,* and the *North American Review* were only a few of Fields' sources. The *Scrap Book* recognized the existence of the western frontier by the inclusion of such pieces as Timothy Flint's description of "Wild Horses," an extract from the *Illinois Magazine* entitled "Daniel Boon," and "Anecdote of a Kentucky Pioneer." There were, in addition, short humorous tales and verses to appeal to fun-loving readers, although on the whole, the later edition was more serious and contained more in the way of political writing. The frivolity of "Epitaph on a Violent Scold" probably caused its elimination from the revised edition:

> Beneath this stone, a lump of clay,
> Lies Arabella Young;
> Who, on the twenty-ninth of may [*sic*]
> Began to hold her tongue.[55]

But Fields somehow neglected to remove what might be considered an equally offensive poem called "Epitaph on a Scold, By Her Husband":

> We lived one-and-twenty years
> As man and wife together;
> At last she's left me quiet here,
> And gone—I care not whither.
> I rather think she's soar'd aloft,
> For in the last great thunder,
> Methought I heard her very voice
> Rending the clouds asunder.[56]

However, by almost any criterion the *Scrap Book* was a varied and estimable collection. The 600 pages of the first edition and the 544 pages of the revision must have served to while away many a dreary hour, and even in the last decade of the nineteenth century the names "Fields" and *"Scrap Book"* were practically synonymous to many Tennesseans.

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[55]*Scrap Book* (Knoxville, 1833), 483.
[56]*Ibid.,* 419; Revised ed. (Philadelphia, 1851), 422.

Walter Marshall McGill's *The Western World*

One of the least known writers in the history of Tennessee literature is undoubtedly Walter Marshall McGill, whose 381-page narrative poem was published by Ferdinand A. Parham in Maryville in 1837. His work is mentioned by no Tennessee historian; it was only in the 1940's with the publication of the W.P.A. Tennessee imprint check lists that his book received any notice at all. There are only three known extant copies of *The Western World,* one of which was purchased by the Tennessee State Library in 1934.

McGill's family was from Knox County originally, although William McGill, Walter's father, had purchased two hundred acres of land as early as 1807 on Sale Creek in Rhea County (which was included in the northern part of Hamilton County upon its organization in 1819).[57] Whether he was actually living that far south at the time is unknown, but he is listed among the 765 original white settlers of Hamilton County.[58] Walter presumably grew up in this section of Hamilton County on or near the Tennessee River between what is now Soddy and Sale Creek, and apparently became an early member of Mt. Bethel Presbyterian Church at Soddy, organized by the Reverend Abel Pearson in December, 1828.[59] Sometime before or around 1837 he received at least part of his education at Dr. Anderson's Seminary in Maryville,[60] although he must have taken out a few weeks to serve in the First Regiment of Tennessee Voluntary Infantry during the Cherokee removal about the time his book was published.[61] In May, 1838, he represented Union Presbytery of the Synod of Tennessee as a lay delegate at the General Assembly in Philadelphia[62] and the following September was received under its care as a candidate for the ministry.[63] However, with the partition of Union Presbytery in the spring of 1839 he was transferred in April to the care of Hiwassee Presbytery,[64] which embraced the southeastern part of Tennessee south of the Little Ten-

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[57]Rhea County, Deed Records, Vol. A (1808-1809), 12-13.

[58]Zella Armstrong, *The History of Hamilton County and Chattanooga, Tennessee,* 2 vols. (Chattanooga, 1931), I, 96.

[59]*Ibid.,* 242-44.

[60]See the Preface to *The Western World,* 4, in which McGill's indebtedness to Dr. Anderson and his associates is acknowledged.

[61]Armstrong, *History of Hamilton County,* I, 189-90.

[62]*Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1838), 644.

[63]Union Presbytery, Records, Vol. 4 (1829-1849), 192.

[64]*Ibid.,* 197.

nessee River. Unfortunately, the records of that presbytery are unavailable, but it is probable that McGill was ordained to the ministry sometime in the early 1840's. However, he apparently shifted his allegiance to the Cumberland Presbyterian branch in that decade, for in 1850 in his *A Commentary on Ecclesiastical Government*, published at the office of the *Knoxville Register*, he announced in the preface that he was a member and a minister of that church. He apparently spent the last years of his life as a minister in Hamilton County, where the marriage records show that he officiated at weddings in his alternate capacity of M.G. (minister of the gospel) or J.P. (justice of the peace) throughout the Civil War period until his name abruptly stops with the last entry on October 19, 1864.[65]

The Western World: A Poem, Founded on the Facts Recorded of the Revolutionary War; Consisting of Several Books, in One Volume. Together with a Description of American Scenery, etc. probably was written toward the close of McGill's literary course under Dr. Anderson and his associates, and was dedicated with appropriate patriotic fervor to his fellow Tennessean, Andrew Jackson. It was completed by the winter of 1836, the prospectus for its publication appearing in the *Knoxville Register* on November 2 of that year. It was to be ready for subscribers by the end of the following March. Costing $1.75, *The Western World* was at first intended for publication in Knoxville, but for some reason was finally issued from Parham's press in Maryville. McGill also planned to give a copy of his book to every surviving Revolutionary soldier provided that he found "patronage sufficient to enable him." The book was made more attractive by the addition of six plates (apparently woodcuts of some kind), two of them large enough to require folding, which illustrated various lines scattered throughout the poem.

The ten books of *The Western World* relate the glories and adversities of America from the landing of Columbus to the departure of Cornwallis's defeated British in 1781. Each book begins with a short preview in clipped prose phrases of what is to follow. McGill manages to recount the entire period of exploration and colonization in the first two books, reserving the last eight for the struggle for independence. He does not minimize the defeats, the moments of despair, but his

[65]Hamilton County, Marriage Records, Book I (1857-1863), and Book 2 (1864-1874), *passim*.

wildest flights of poetic fancy are reserved for the inspired leadership of George Washington, whose victories are heralded by the very angels of heaven. In one battle where Columbia's sons begin a flight from the enemy:

> Washington lifts his voice
> And all his armies hear. His warriors cease,
> Their flight. They know the voice of their great chief.
> Behold he is alone amidst the strife,
> By the impetu's Rhal and his host beset,
> And glitt'ring steel on either side—in front.
> Then in dread unequal conflict, he fights.[66]

On occasions McGill feels that even his blank verse is insufficient to sing of such wonders:

> Had I the fancy of a Milford Bard,
> The fruitful fancy of elastic stride,
> And too, the grateful thought of wildest range,
> Then I might sing, Columbia, of thy wrong.
> Or a Bryant's perpetu'l lasting strain,
> Then would my song Columbia's glory feign.[67]

Although some of McGill's lines contain genuine feeling, there are all too often in the young poet those melodramatic strains which spoil innumerable lines of nineteenth century poetry. For example:

> Oh Arnold! Arnold!
> Thou our brother! Oh Arnold! shall it be told,
> In the land of thy foes—Arnold betray'd;
> His country and Washington, or destroy'd,
> The peace and glory of his own nation.
> But, alas! deserted now—thy station,
> Where destruction, bloodshed with ruin hangs,
> Over thy bleeding country, and fate brings,
> Irretrievable woe.[68]

Whether the erratic punctuation is due to Parham's typography or McGill's imperfect mastering of the intricacies of the English language is uncertain. The young poet obviously knows what blank verse is supposed to be, although there are few memorable lines, and many that are awkward. However, there is sufficient variation in rhythm which, together with frequent use of the heroic couplet, keeps the passages from becoming distractingly monotonous. The religious and moralizing passages are not unduly obtrusive, although near the end, in hearing of the new-born republic:

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[66] *The Western World,* 63.
[67] *Ibid.,* 44.
[68] *Ibid.,* 322.

Old Satan
Heard voices responsive to a nation,
From celestial heights and knew her birth day,
Was come and howl'd with dreadful, vengeful cry—[69]

The Western World inevitably invites comparison with similar epics of American literary history. In many ways it appears to be a close imitation of Joel Barlow's *The Columbiad* (1807), the final revision of his earlier *The Vision of Columbus* (1787). Like *The Columbiad, The Western World* is divided into ten books, for each of which an argument is given at the beginning. Both use the same form—iambic pentameter, sometimes in couplets and sometimes unrhymed. Both deal similarly with a patriotic theme; both use with great frequency "visions" of the past and the future. Barlow begins his poem thus:

I sing the Mariner who first unfurl'd
An eastern banner o'er the western world,
And taught mankind where future empires lay
In these fair confines of descending day . . .[70]

Not too dissimilar, but far more awkward, are McGill's first lines:

Of the discov'ry, extent and wonder,
That long undiscover'd in dread grandeur,
Stood unknown amidst the mighty waters,
Where old ocean hoarse, void, sullen, mutters,
Sing my muse.[71]

It is interesting to note that Barlow uses in his second line the words which form McGill's title. There are, of course, significant differences. Barlow's work is by far the more competent; his command of language is clearly superior to McGill's. Barlow's hero is Columbus; McGill's is Washington. The Revolution takes only about three books in *The Columbiad,* and there is far more of a vision of past and future, far more of a speculative nature. *The Western World* is more specific, more factual, but less readable.

There was apparently little or no notice of McGill's publication at the time it was issued, and few readers today would care to immerse themselves in its halting, undeniably amateurish phrasing, or in its obvious, hackneyed patriotism. However, that a young Tennessean of the 1830's should even write and have published 381 pages of pentameter lines is in itself remarkable. Though McGill's is not great poetry, or even good poetry, it was at least the equal of much of the periodical verse of the times.

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[69]*Ibid.,* 374.
[70]*The Columbiad* (Paris, 1813), 1.
[71]*The Western World,* 6.

Conclusion

No Tennessean should be assailed for undue chauvinism in manifesting an interest in these men and their publications. Admittedly, these productions hardly rival the works of even minor American writers whose names are recounted in the literary histories, but they serve to demonstrate that at least some Tennesseans were aware of the larger areas of literary and cultural pursuit.

Of sheer necessity in early East Tennessee, as Rusk demonstrated of the Middle West, participation in the economic, political, and religious currents of the time were of first importance to citizens of intellect and ability; writing, if it came at all, came second. Such demands perhaps explain why most East Tennessee writers published only one, or at the most two books; such demands explain why most East Tennesseans published their works of belles-lettres early in their lives, full in the flush of early youth before the weight of family and business reponsibilities had sapped their energies and distracted their attentions.

Although through most of the period to 1840 East Tennessee existed under comparatively primitive conditions by modern standards, its literature shows little evidence of the influence of the frontier. Its newspaper verses were of political controversy, romantic attachments, and pious religiosity; its essays explored topics which any well-bred Englishman or New Englander might have considered; and its fiction emphasized romantically embellished action rather than local color or everyday experiences. The literature of the early Tennessee region was largely the type of the civilization to the east, American and European. Although the reputations of East Tennessee authors before 1840 never equaled those of David Crockett or the later George Washington Harris, who were able to adapt the frontier environment to successful literary expression, their writings do serve to record the growth of civilization in their own localities and to write a chapter in the larger history of American culture.

That East Tennessee's men of letters were all too often imitative, that their productions were largely derivative, is—alas—too true. But in an age nationalistic in politics and romantic in culture, it would be asking too much to expect these early settlers to push forward the frontiers of literature as they had the physical frontiers of civilization.

THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE UPPER TENNESSEE RIVER

By James R. Montgomery

The naming and renaming of the "Upper" Tennessee River makes a fascinating story. Since the present nomenclature of the Tennessee River is relatively recent, a study of the various names by which the river has been known is of interest to a student of early Tennessee history. The major rivers of East Tennessee with their twentieth-century names are found on the accompanying map.

Map I[1]

The Tennessee River is formed by the junction of the Holston and French Broad rivers at a point four and a half miles above Knoxville, Tennessee. From this junction the Tennessee flows southward into Alabama, and then northward to a junction with the Ohio River at Paducah, Kentucky.

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[1]Basic outline of rivers from T. M. N. Lewis and Madeline Kneberg, *The Prehistory of the Chickamauga Basin in Tennessee: A Preview* (Knoxville, 1941), Map I.

Indications point to the fact that the early Indian town of Tanase passed its name on to the Tennessee River, and later to the state of Tennessee. In 1725 Colonel George Chicken visited the country of the Overhill Cherokees. He recorded in his journal a reference to the town of Tunisee.[2] Five years later Sir Alexander Cuming traveled to the Cherokee Indian country and his journal refers to the town of Tannassie.[3] These early journals make no reference to the Tennessee River (or any other spelling thereof).

Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, the physician-historian, writing in 1853, gave an account of the early Indian names and the boundaries of various rivers. The Kallamuchee ran "From the confluence with the Ohio River to the mouth of the Little Tennessee. From this point to the mouth of the French Broad, it was called Cootcla; and from there to the mouth of Watauga, and perhaps to its source in Virginia, the Holston was known to the Indians as Hogohegee."[4]

As early as 1707 a map drawn by William Delisle listed the "Tinnase River" and showed this river as rising among the Cherokee villages.[5] Later, in 1733, Henry Popple's map listed the present Tennessee as the Hogohegee River. On another plate the river was called Hogohegee, Callamaco, or Acanseasipi River. The Little Tennessee was called Satico River.[6]

A map by John DeBrahm, a German engineer who worked on the construction of Fort Loudoun, clearly showed the fort to be located on the "Tannassee River."[7] On DeBrahm's map, the "Tannassee" (present-day Little Tennessee) joined the "Holstein" to form the Cherokee River. A map drawn by Lieutenant Henry Timberlake during his journey to the Cherokee country in 1761 named the present Little Tennessee River the "Tennessee."[8] The French had a variety of names

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[2]Samuel Cole Williams (ed.), *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800* (Johnson City, Tenn., 1928), 99.

[3]*Ibid.*, 126.

[4]J. G. M. Ramsey, *The Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century . . .* (Philadelphia, 1853), 87. The names Ramsey gives to the river are similar to many which appear on an "Aboriginal Map of Tennessee," drawn after 1806. This map is inaccurate, but it is an indication of the Indian names. A copy of this map may be seen in Goodspeed Pub. Co., *History of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1887), i.

[5]Justin Winsor, *The Mississippi Basin: The Struggle in America Between England and France, 1697-1763* (Boston, 1895), 20.

[6]Henry Popple, *Popple's Atlas of the British Possessions in America, With the French and Spanish Settlements Adjacent Thereto* (London, 1733).

[7]John Richard Alden, *John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Ann Arbor, 1944), map pocket at end.

[8]Samuel Cole Williams (ed.), *Lieut. Henry Timberlake's Memoirs, 1756-1765* (Johnson City, Tenn., 1928), 27.

for the Tennessee which included Riviere des Caskinampo (1702),[9] Casquinanbaux (1717),[10] and later the Cheroquis (or Cherokee) River.[11]

By the time the first settlers came into the country which is now East Tennessee, the main river, including the Little Tennessee, was known as the Tennessee, although the title Cherokee continued to be used occasionally for the main stream. The Holston River flowed to the mouth of the present-day Little Tennessee. There the Holston joined the Tennessee. In other words, the Little Tennessee was unknown (prior to the 1800's), since it was considered to be a continuation of the Tennessee and bore that name.

MAP II[12]

Cherokee, the name given by the French, persisted. In 1782 Arthur Campbell[13] wrote a memorial to the Congress of the United

[9]William Delisle, "Carte du Canada et du Mississipi," Karpinski Collection of Maps (copy in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville).

[10]Vermale, "Carte Generale de la Generale de la Lousisane ou du Miciscipi" (1717), Karpinski Collection of Maps (copy in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville).

[11]Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846,* 32 vols. (Cleveland, Ohio, 1904-1907), III, 74-75.

[12]Lewis and Kneberg, *Prehistory of the Chickamauga Basin,* Map 1.

[13]Campbell lived in southwest Virginia near the Tennessee-Virginia boundary line.

States asking for a separate state of Franklin. Part of the west boundary for this proposed state ran along the Tennessee *or* Cherokee River.[14]

After 1780, however, the name Tennessee, for the main stream, was fairly well established. For instance, the journal of John Donelson, written during his boat trip to Nashborough (Nashville) in 1779-1780, records that they "passed the mouth of the Tennessee River." From other information in the diary it is apparent that Donelson was at the present-day junction of the Little Tennessee and the Tennessee, at that time usually called the mouth of the Holston. A few paragraphs later he clearly stated that he had arrived at the mouth of the Tennessee on the Ohio River.[15] A map drawn by William Christian in 1782 pictured the lower river and the present-day Little Tennessee as the "Tenesee River."[16] Also, the Treaty of Holston in 1791 had as one of its boundary lines the ridge between Little River and Tennessee River.[17] Obviously, such a ridge could be found only between the Little and the present Little Tennessee rivers. Finally, Daniel Smith's map, 1795, listed the "Tennassee River" as including the Little Tennessee as well as the main stream.[18]

Little Tennessee Comes Into Existence

Above the junction of the Tennessee and the Holston (see map II) the Tennessee was a comparatively small river. The Holston was the chief source of water when the two rivers met. It appeared illogical to allow the smaller river to change the name of the larger river.

The Cherokee treaty of 1819, conducted at Washington, established a new boundary line for the Indians. Part of this new boundary was to run east along the Tennessee River (Little Tennessee of today), and another part along the Tennessee between the mouths of the present Little Tennessee and the Hiwassee. Although the name "Little Tennessee" was not used in the treaty, the Tennessee legislature, when it passed a law providing for the survey and sale of the land acquired, entitled it, "An act, to dispose of the lands lying between the rivers

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[14]Samuel Cole Williams, *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (Johnson City, Tenn., 1924), 46.

[15]Ramsey, *Annals*, 197-98, 201. He apparently was unaware of his inconsistency in giving the Tennessee two mouths.

[16]Map drawn by William Christian, December 30, 1782 (photostat copy in possession of Dr. Stanley J. Folmsbee, University of Tennessee, Knoxville).

[17]Henry D. Whitney, *The Land Laws of Tennessee . . .* (Cincinnati, 1893), 18.

[18]Gen. D. Smith and others, *A Map of the Tennassee Government, Formerly part of North Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1795).

Hiwassee and Tennessee, and north of Little Tennessee river." This is the first use of the name Little Tennessee which has been found.[19] Four years later, in 1823, Tennessee's first historian, Judge John Haywood, in giving an account of John Donelson's explorations, also named the Little Tennessee as it appears today. He interpreted the Tennessee River to be formed by the junction of the Holston and the Little Tennessee.[20] It is evident that he followed a usage which was already developing on the part of the inhabitants of the region.

By the 1830's the use of the name Little Tennessee had become generally accepted by state publications. The *Tennessee Gazetteer,* published by direction of the Tennessee legislature in 1834, stated that the name Little Tennessee should be used to refer to the river which joined the Holston to form the Tennessee. In another place the book placed Fort Loudon (Loudoun) on the Little Tennessee River.[21] A law passed by the Tennessee legislature, February 13, 1836, used the Little Tennessee River as a boundary of Blount and Monroe counties.[22] Ramsey's *Annals,* published in 1853, also referred to the Little Tennessee and included a map with the new name. Although Ramsey generally used the name Little Tennessee, a close survey reveals that he occasionally used Tennessee instead of Little Tennessee.[23]

The Holston River

The early Indian name applied to the upper reaches of the river, Hogohegee, was dropped during the last part of the eighteenth century in favor of another name. Stephen Holston had a cabin on the headspring of the Middle Fork of this river about 1746. A few years later Holston and a party of friends traveled by canoe down the Holston to the Tennessee, and then on that river, the Ohio, and the Mississippi to Natchez, Mississippi. This adventure led to his name's being given the river.[24] Timberlake's *Memoirs* and the early maps of DeBrahm,

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19Charles C. Royce (comp.), *Indian Land Cessions in the United States* (Washington, 1900), 696; *Acts of Tennessee,* 1819, p. 88. Actually, the lands lay south of the Little Tennessee instead of north of it.

20*The Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee . . .* (reprint, Nashville, 1891), 111, 119, 120. In his *The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee . . .*, also published in 1823 (Nashville), the name Little Tennessee is also used. See pp. 233 *et passim.*

21Eastin Morris, *The Tennessee Gazetteer, or Topographical Dictionary* (Nashville, Tenn., 1834), 161, xiii.

22Whitney, *Laws,* 765.

23Ramsey, *Annals,* i, 164, 169.

24Samuel Cole Williams, "Stephen Holston and Holston River," The East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 8 (1936), 27-28.

W. Christian, and D. Smith all used the name Holston (or a variant spelling).

Until the 1880's the name Holston applied from its headwaters to the junction with the Little Tennessee approximately thirty miles below Knoxville instead of stopping as it does now at its junction with the French Broad four miles above Knoxville. Numerous examples of this application of the name Holston can be found. The Treaty of the Holston, signed at Knoxville (White's Fort) in 1791, included the following: "the parties have hereunto set their hands and seals, at the treaty ground on the bank of the Holston. . . ."[25] The earliest extant catalogue of East Tennessee College, 1838, gave the following information: "The College buildings are situated on a beautiful eminence . . . on the north bank of the Holston."[26] Ramsey's *Annals* placed Knoxville on the Holston.[27] Throughout the Civil War, Knoxville was considered to be on the banks of the Holston.[28]

The Last Name Change

Shortly after the Civil War the name Tennessee gradually came to be applied to the river up to the junction of the French Broad and the Holston. This was the result of several developments. A major one was the desire of the people to facilitate the obtaining of federal aid for river improvement.

The first steamboat navigation of the lower Tennessee was about 1821. The people of East Tennessee realized the great benefits which would result from steamboat transportation, since it would provide a ready means for shipping and receiving goods, which had been impossible up to that time. Efforts were made in 1825 to run a steamboat between Florence, Alabama, and Knoxville, Tennessee, to give the upper Tennessee region an opportunity to take advantage of the trade

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[25]Whitney, *Laws*, 20.

[26]Stanley J. Folmsbee, "Blount College and East Tennessee College, 1794-1840: . . ." in the University of Tennessee *Record* (Knoxville, 1946), Vol. 49, No. 1, p. 50 (Reprinted from The East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 17 [1945]).

[27]Ramsey, *Annals*, 375.

[28]*Topographical Map of the Approaches and Defenses of Knoxville, Tennessee* (Published by U. S. Army Chief of Engineers, St. Louis, [n.d.]); and *Military Map showing the Marches of the United States Forces Under Command of Maj. Gen. W. T. Sherman U.S.A.* (Published by Army Chief of Engineers, St. Louis, 1865).

Civil War maps *usually* showed the Tennessee as being formed by the junction of the Holston and Little Tennessee. For example: Captain Calvin D. Cowles (comp.), "General Topographical Map," *Atlas To Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1891-1895), Plate CXLII.

on the lower Tennessee River, but without success. It was not until 1828 that the *Atlas* became the first steamboat to make a trip to Knoxville. After that date steamboat transportation played an increasingly important role in the economic life of upper East Tennessee, but only as increasing amounts of money were spent for river improvement.[29] Since state efforts toward improving the streams of East Tennessee were largely ineffectual,[30] attention shifted to the national treasury.

In 1852 the federal government passed a River and Harbor Act appropriating money for the improvement of the Tennessee River.[31] This act was interpreted in such a manner that river improvement was extended north along the Holston to Knoxville. Provision for expending money for improvement of the "river" between Chattanooga and Knoxville is found in federal acts of 1871.[32] The following year an act provided for improvement of the "Tennessee" between Knoxville and Chattanooga.[33] After 1872 a continuous yearly renewal of an appropriation for navigation improvement of the Tennessee is recorded. These acts provided for continued improvement below Chattanooga, and continued improvement of the "Tennessee" above Chattanooga.[34]

Confusion was possible. Did the appropriation money stop with improvement at the junction of the Little Tennessee and the Holston, or would improvement continue up the Holston to Knoxville? The latter course seems to have been the intent of the appropriation acts.

In the 1870's there were many interpretations of the extent of the Holston and Tennessee. There was, however, a gradual change toward the use of the name Tennessee for the section between the mouths of the French Broad and the Little Tennessee. T. A. R. Nelson, a citizen of Knoxville, wrote an article in 1872 which listed the Holston River as the south boundary of Knoxville.[35] Two years later, in a book published by the State Department of Agriculture[36] and written by J. B.

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[29]J. Haden Alldredge, *et al., A History of Navigation on the Tennessee River System: An Interpretation of the Economic Influence of this River System on the Tennessee Valley* (Washington, 1937), 56-61.

[30]*Ibid.,* 128-29; Stanley J. Folmsbee, *Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee, 1796-1845* (Knoxville, 1939), 80-84, 220-22.

[31]*The Statutes at Large of the United States,* 1851-1855 (Boston, 1855), X, 60; Alldredge, *Navigation,* 133; *House Ex. Documents,* 29 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 167.

[32]*The Statutes at Large of the United States,* 1869-1871, XVI, 542.

[33]*Ibid.,* 1871-1873, XVII, 372.

[34]*Ibid.,* 1873-1890, *passim.*

[35]T. A. R. Nelson, "Knoxville," in V. J. Crowell (comp.), *Business Directory of East Tennessee* (Chattanooga, 1872), 39.

[36]Report of the Bureau of Agriculture of the State of Tennessee, J. B. Killebrew,

Killebrew and J. M. Safford, there may be found two conflicting accounts. One account states that the name Holston applied to the river as far south as Kingston, Tennessee, where the Clinch and Holston formed the Tennessee. This interpretation, however, has had little use. The other account listed the river which flows past Knoxville as "the Tennessee, which is more commonly and was originally named the Holston. . . ." Finally, in 1879, a tourist promotion pamphlet appeared which stated that the Tennessee River was formed by the Holston and the French Broad.[37] After 1880 the more popular title appears to have been the Tennessee. The *Directory of Knoxville* gives a good illustration of the change. In 1876 the river which flowed past Knoxville was called the Holston; however, in the 1882 *Directory,* the name Tennessee was used.[38]

As early as 1881 Congress worded an appropriation for the Little Tennessee, stating that improvement for this river would begin at its mouth on the Holston or Big Tennessee.[39] In 1888 Congress authorized a bridge over the Tennessee River at Knoxville.[40] It may be seen that the federal government understood that the Tennessee extended to Knoxville. Certainly such an interpretation was an economic asset to Knoxville and East Tennessee.

The legislature of Tennessee, in 1889, passed the following act:

> An act to settle all doubts and disputes as to the name and source of the Tennessee River. Whereas, Divers opinions exist as to the true source of the Tennessee River, thereby causing confusion in statutes, deeds and other instruments; now, therefore, and in order definitely to establish the name and source of said river:
>
> Section 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, that the Tennessee extends from its junction with the Ohio River, at Paducah . . . past the Clinch and French Broad Rivers to the junction of the north fork of the Holston River with the Holston, at Kingsport in Sullivan County, Tennessee all usages to the contrary notwithstanding.[41]

This act would have made the Tennessee extend to a point near Kingsport, Tennessee, limiting the name Holston to the section above

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assisted by J. M. Safford, *Introduction to the Resources of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1874), 277, 552.

[37]East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia Railroad Company, *Guide to the Summer Resorts and Watering Places of East Tennessee* (Memphis, 1879), 15.

[38]*Directory of Knoxville and Suburbs, 1876-7* (Knoxville, 1876), 20; *Knoxville Directory, 1882* (Nashville, 1883), 7.

[39]*The Statutes at Large of the United States,* 1879-1881, XXI, 483.

[40]*Ibid.,* 1887-1889, XXV, 204.

[41]*Acts of Tennessee,* 1889, pp. 457-58.

its junction with the North Fork. This legislative effort to alter the nomenclature of the upper river was completely ineffective.

Samuel Cole Williams states that the name was changed to take advantage of acts of Congress making appropriations for the Tennessee River. His opinion of the law was as follows: "The act was 'brutum fulmess.'[42] There never had been any such doubt or dispute; nor has there been any since the legislative fiat, 'to the contrary notwithstanding.' The officials of both the state and federal governments continue to name the stream above the French Broad, 'Holston River.' "[43]

In 1890 the federal legislature established the present boundaries of the Tennessee River. An appropriation act carried a full statement of the extent of the river, as follows: "Improving Tennessee River above Chattanooga, Tennessee . . . fifteen thousand dollars . . . [for] making a careful and comprehensive survey of said river from Chattanooga to the junction of the Holston and French Broad River."[44] Since then, there has been little controversy over either the name or boundaries.

In summary, the Tennessee was extended to the junction of the French Broad and Holston by interpretation of the federal and state governments and general usage. The new name appears to have been generally accepted by the 1880's. T. W. Humes in his history (1888) placed Knoxville on the Tennessee.[45] In the same year the University of Tennessee *Announcement* noted that the University was located on the banks of the Tennessee River.[46] An *Atlas* published in 1897 showed the present arrangement.[47]

The change of name was not made without some controversy. Joshua W. Caldwell wrote in an article in 1900:

> Location [Knoxville] is on the north bank of the Holston, four miles south of the junction of the French Broad and the Holston Rivers, giving the last stream the name to which it is entitled, without regard to many temporary, ineffective and indefensible changes of river nomenclature in East Tennessee by legislation.[48]

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[42]One translation—unfeeling or unjust blow.

[43]Williams, "Stephen Holston," *loc. cit.*, 34.

[44]*The Statutes at Large of the United States,* 1889-1891, XXVI, 446.

[45]Thomas William Humes, *The Loyal Mountaineers of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1888), 34.

[46]The University of Tennessee, *Announcement,* 1888-1889 (Knoxville, 1888), 53. In the years immediately prior to this date the river was not named.

[47]Benjamin E. Smith (supervisor), *The Century Atlas of the World* (New York, 1897), Map 41.

[48]Joshua W. Caldwell, "Knoxville—The Metropolis of Eastern Tennessee," in Lyman Pierson Powell (comp.), *Historic Towns of the Southern States* (New York, 1900), 452.

As late as 1907, in a second edition of a book by the same author, another discussion on the name change was given:

> The principal river of the upper valley was known formerly as the Holston. The Tennessee River, originally, was formed by the Holston and the Little Tennessee . . . but capricious modern legislation has shorn the Holston, more than once, of its proper proportions and has extended the Tennessee northward. . . .[49]

Historical Inaccuracies

The name changes have led to numerous historical inaccuracies in writing. Theodore Roosevelt in *The Winning of the West* (1889) placed Fort Loudoun on the headwaters of the Tennessee.[50] Also, in 1889, Gentry R. McGee wrote that Fort Loudoun was built in 1756 or 1757 on the Tennessee River. In revising this book (1930), C. B. Ijams made no correction on this point. Yet, Ijams was aware of the existence of the Little Tennessee for this river appears on a map in the 1930 edition.[51] In 1919 another author, Gus W. Dyer, stated that Governor Loudoun, of Virginia, in 1756, sent a body of men under the command of Andrew Lewis to build a fort on the Tennessee River.[52] While these authors were correct in stating that the forts were on the Tennessee, a false impression was created. The river they were actually referring to has changed names. As late as 1944 John Alden, in a biography of John Stuart, was still making the name error. Alden carefully located Fort Loudoun on the Little Tennessee, but a few pages later wrote the following: "Easier access to Fort Loudoun could be had from Virginia by way of the Holston and Tennessee rivers . . . ,"[53] failing entirely to mention the Little Tennessee.

In his Autobiography, Ramsey (1870) failed to use the name Little Tennessee. He told of fording the Tennessee River near Morgantown (eleven miles up Little Tennessee from Lenoir City), and of crossing the river at Tamottlee Ford (site of an early Indian town on

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[49]Joshua W. Caldwell, *Studies in the Constitutional History of Tennessee* (Second edition, Cincinnati, 1907), 1.

[50]Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West,* 4 vols. (New York, 1904), 1, 160n. The original copyright date was 1889.

[51]Gentry R. McGee, *A History of Tennessee From 1663 to 1930* (Revised and enlarged by C. B. Ijams, New York, 1930), 27.

[52]Gus W. Dyer, *A School History of Tennessee* (Chattanooga, Tenn., 1919), 4. Actually the governor was Robert Dinwiddie. The Earl of Loudoun was commander of the British forces in America at that time.

[53]Alden, *John Stuart,* 114.

the Little Tennessee).[54] Francis M. Turner in a biography of John Sevier (1910) used the pre-1880 term for the Holston.[55] The reader of this biography would be led to believe that the Holston still continued to a junction with the Little Tennessee.

The location of the Tennessee and of the Holston River has also given the historian T. P. Abernethy trouble. In his history of Tennessee, published in 1932, he wrote that shortly after 1791 a federal garrison was stationed at Southwest Point (near Kingston, Tennessee) "where the Clinch flowed into the Holston."[56] The Abernethy interpretation of the extent of the Holston was made in connection with a treatise on early trails of Tennessee. The map Abernethy used for illustration was adapted from one which appeared in an article by Albert C. Holt, "The Economic and Social Beginnings of Tennessee."[57] This map showed the Holston but failed to include the Little Tennessee (or Tennessee of the 1790 period). In his article, Holt did not state that the Holston and Clinch joined. The writer of this paper has found nothing to indicate that this interpretation is correct; however, it has received limited use as indicated by the passage quoted above from J. B. Killebrew.

Map publishers have had difficulty in getting the correct names on the rivers of East Tennessee. In 1878 there appeared a Rand, McNally & Company map of Kentucky and Tennessee which still listed the present-day Little Tennessee as the Tennessee.[58] The same error again appeared in 1886, on a map of Tennessee by G. W. and C. B. Colton. This map, however, showed the Little Tennessee as a small branch joining the Tennessee in western North Carolina.[59] *The Agricultural and Geological Map of Tennessee* by Rand, McNally, in 1888 pictured the Little Tennessee, but the extent of the Holston

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[54]William B. Hesseltine (ed.), *Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey: Autobiography and Letters* (Nashville, 1954), 117, 146. The only reference found in this volume to the Little Tennessee is in a letter from Ramsey to Lyman C. Draper written in 1852. *Ibid.*, 69. Mention has been made above that Ramsey in his *Annals*, published in 1853, mostly used the name Little Tennessee, but occasionally forgot himself and lapsed back into the older usage of Tennessee. In 1870 he was even more forgetful and followed the old usage consistently.

[55]Francis M. Turner, *Life of General John Sevier* (New York, 1910), 192, 196.

[56]Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee: A Study in Frontier Democracy* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 156.

[57]*Tennessee Historical Magazine* (Nashville, 1915-1937), VII (1922), 252-313.

[58]Rand, McNally & Co., *Indexed Maps of Kentucky and Tennessee* (Chicago, [1878]).

[59]*Map of the State of Tennessee* (New York, 1886).

was not clear.[60] In contrast to these errors, there is an interesting map published as early as 1865 which listed the Little Tennessee and also showed the Tennessee as extending past Lenoir City in the direction of Knoxville.[61] Other post-Civil War maps examined do not show the extent of the Holston.

One additional change has come to the name of the upper Tennessee River. On August 2, 1943, Fort Loudoun Dam, located on the Tennessee one mile upstream from the mouth of the Little Tennessee River, was closed. This closure created Fort Loudoun Reservoir (often incorrectly called Fort Loudoun Lake). Today it is technically correct to state that Knoxville is located by Fort Loudoun Reservoir. However, to refer to the entire river the name Tennessee is used. A recent Tennessee Valley Authority map (1954) labels the river as the Tennessee throughout its length. Along the river the various reservoirs are indicated.[62]

The changes in nomenclature have been due to various causes. The adoption of the name Little Tennessee was the result of the application of logic to an illogical situation. An economic factor—the hope for federal appropriations for river improvement—was largely instrumental in changing the extent of the Holston. The confusion on the part of writers and map-makers has been due to lack of knowledge of the region or of awareness of the changes in nomenclature. Where such awareness did exist the errors have been due to forgetfulness or to the difficulty of breaking old habits. It is hoped that this paper may help reduce the number of such errors in the future.

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60 *Agricultural and Geological Map of Tennessee* (Chicago, 1888).
61 *Colton's Kentucky and Tennessee* (New York, 1865).
62 Information received from Engineer Department, T.V.A., Knoxville.

THE EARLY CAREER OF DAVID CROCKETT

By STANLEY J. FOLMSBEE AND ANNA GRACE CATRON

Anyone writing about the early life of the "King of the Wild Frontier" is very largely dependent upon Crockett's own autobiographical account, originally published in 1834 under the title, *A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett, of the State of Tennessee,* but more familiarly known as the *Autobiography.*[1] By checking it, where possible, against known historical facts, the writers have come to the conclusion that in its entirety it is a remarkably accurate work, and this view has been confirmed by the author of the most recent and most reliable biography of Crockett, James Atkins Shackford.[2]

One controversy which still persists concerns David's ancestry. According to the *Autobiography,* his father was "John Crockett, and he was of Irish descent. He was either born in Ireland or on a passage from that country to America. . . ."[3] Still unexplained is the earlier origin of the family before it settled in Ireland. What has been the most generally accepted view is that an early ancestor was Antoine de Crocketagne, a French Huguenot who fled first to England and then to Ireland in the seventeenth century.[4] The opposing and more acceptable theory is that the Crocketts came from a well-established Scotch family of that name, and that David's forebears had lived only a relatively

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[1]*The Autobiography of David Crockett,* with an introduction by Hamlin Garland (New York, 1923). This so-called "Scribner edition" includes a reprinting "with a very few obvious misprints corrected" of the original work, *A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett, of the State of Tennessee,* as published in 1834, together with condensed versions of *An Account of Col. Crockett's Tour of the North and Down East* (Philadelphia, 1835) and the largely spurious work, *Col. Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas* (Philadelphia, 1836).

[2]*David Crockett: the Man and the Legend* (Chapel Hill, 1956). Mr. Shackford's conclusion (pp. 270-71) is: "When one compares the authentic records about Crockett with the *Autobiographical* account of them, he finds only two sorts of discrepancies: first, a few additions, and slight seemingly deliberate alterations which I have attributed to the fact that David was still in politics and intended the *Autobiography* partially as campaign literature; and second, errors not in fact but in the accuracy of dating fact, attributable obviously to its having been written entirely from memory. However, the rest of it is so meticulously accurate, as established by parallel surviving records, as to prove quite conclusively that in content the work is all David's own." He has also shown very conclusively that the man who actually wrote the *Autobiography* was a friend named Thomas Chilton, who used information "furnished him by David orally or by notes." *Ibid.,* 264-73.

[3]Page 19. He also said his father lived in Pennsylvania during his early years.

[4]Mrs. A. A. Campbell, "David Crockett, the Go-Ahead Man," *Confederate Veteran* (Nashville), XXVIII (Mar., 1920), 104; Janie P. C. French and Zella Armstrong, *The Crockett Family and Connecting Lines* (Vol. V of an open series, *Notable Southern Families,* Bristol, 1928), 1-9, 203-04. See also Shackford, *David Crockett,* 293 (n.1).

short period of time in Ireland before his grandfather, also named David Crockett, migrated to Pennsylvania in the middle of the eighteenth century.[5]

Whether Scotch-Irish in origin or not, grandfather David followed the example of many others of that nationality and moved from Pennsylvania to the back country of Virginia. That he settled in the Shenandoah Valley is shown by the fact that his son Robert was born August 13, 1755, at the site of the present Berryville, Virginia, according to his application for a Revolutionary War pension filed in 1833.[6] By 1771 the Crocketts had moved to North Carolina. Deed records of Tryon (later Lincoln) County indicate that David Crockett purchased a 250-acre tract on the south side of Catawba River in that year.[7] The family had moved across the mountains to the Holston Valley, however, by 1776. The members of the famous Watauga Association, after re-naming their government the Washington District, sent a petition on July 5, 1776, to North Carolina asking for annexation—the petition which resulted in the creation of Washington County by North Carolina the next year. Included among the signers of that petition were David and William Crockett. On November 6, 1777, the settlers living in upper East Tennessee, north and west of the Holston River (including Carter's Valley), who were considered at that time to be in Virginia instead of North Carolina, sent a petition to the Virginia government. Among the signers were John, William, and David (twice) Crockett.[8]

Further evidence of the residence of several families of Crocketts in Carter's Valley may be found in an original bill in a suit filed in the superior court of Washington District, Tennessee, in 1800 in the case of Johnson and Shropshire *vs.* Ingram and Mitchell, and also in various

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[5]Robert M. Torrence, *Colonel "Davy" Crockett* (Washington, D. C., 1956), 1-3. Some confirmation of this view may be found in Dr. S. H. Stout, "David Crockett," *American Historical Magazine* (Nashville, 1896-1904), VII (1902), 3-21. Dr. Stout, describing the occasion of his first seeing David Crockett in 1829, said he was "of Scotch-Irish descent, and of the clan of Crocketts of the old country."

[6]This application is described in Prentiss Price, Rogersville, Tenn., to S. J. Folmsbee, June 20, 1956. Mr. Price believes that there were at least three brothers older than Robert—John, William, and David, Jr.—which would indicate that John was born not later than 1749.

[7]Quoted in William L. Sherrill, *The Annals of Lincoln County, North Carolina* (Charlotte, 1937), 15. This confirms David's *Autobiography* (p. 20) statement that his father lived in Lincoln County, N. C., although technically it did not receive the name Lincoln until 1779, after the Crocketts had moved to the Tennessee country.

[8]J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee* (Philadelphia, 1853), 138; Prentiss Price (ed.), "Two Petitions to Virginia of the North of the Holston Men, 1776, 1777," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 21 (1949), 103-10.

entries of land holdings in the Rogersville neighborhood.[9] These indicate that in addition to the residence of David Crockett (Davy's grandfather) at the site of Rogersville, there were also separate establishments before November, 1777, of his sons John, William, and Joseph. John Crockett's cabin was located about three miles below the site of Rogersville. This may explain why he escaped death when his parents were killed in the Indian raid mentioned in the *Autobiography*.[10]

It is evident from the above that John Crockett probably was married before, or very soon after, moving to the Tennessee country. The date is unknown; but according to Davy's memory, his mother, Rebecca Hawkins, was "born in the state of Maryland, between York [Pennsylvania] and Baltimore," and had a brother named Joseph. Many writers claim that this Rebecca was a sister of Sarah Hawkins, who married John Sevier, but the evidence is by no means conclusive.[11] It is possible that her birthplace was Old Joppa, located in Maryland between Baltimore and York, as the names of Joseph and Rebecca Hawkins appear in church records of that town.[12] Several men by the name of Hawkins signed the north of the Holston petition of 1777 mentioned above; and in 1781 John Crockett signed a security bond for Ruth and Aaron Hawkins, administrators of the estate of Nathan Hawkins. This leads to the speculation that Rebecca, John Crockett's wife, may have been the daughter of Nathan and Ruth Hawkins.[13]

John Crockett, as well as his brother Robert, participated in some

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[9]Quoted in Price to Folmsbee, June 20, 1956, *loc. cit.* The papers filed in the 1800 suit include a deposition signed by the same Robert Crockett, Cumberland County, Ky., whose pension application is mentioned above, thus proving that he was Davy's uncle.

[10]Page 20: "By the Creeks, . . . in their own house, and on the very spot of ground where Rogersville, in Hawkins county, now stands." The raid must have occurred before August 19, 1778, for on that date William and Robert Crockett were made administrators of David's estate. Prentiss Price, above, citing Washington County Court Minutes. The raid may have been by the Chickamauga Indians instead of the Creeks. S. C. Williams, *Tennessee During the Revolutionary War* (Nashville, 1944), 62.

[11]*Autobiography*, 23. The chief authority for this Crockett-Sevier relationship, which is accepted by Shackford (p. 293, n. 1) as well as by earlier writers, is French and Armstrong, *The Crockett Family*, 328-29; but a leading genealogist of the Sevier and Hawkins families, the late Mary Hoss Headman, a descendant, insisted that Sarah Hawkins' sister Rebecca married Colonel Richard Campbell and that the wives of John Crockett and John Sevier were not related. Mary Hoss Headman to E. A. Wright, Morristown, Tenn., Sept. 15, 1955 (copy in possession of S. J. Folmsbee). French and Armstrong claim that Colonel Campbell married Sarah's sister Jane, but there is no Jane on Mrs. Headman's list of Sarah's brothers and sisters.

[12]Torrence, *Colonel "Davy" Crockett*, 3-4. There is also a tradition in the family of E. A. Wright, Morristown, that his great grandfather, Nathan Hawkins of Greene County, was a cousin of Davy Crockett.

[13]Price to Folmsbee, June 20, 1956, *loc. cit.*

of the campaigns of the Revolution; according to the *Autobiography,* he fought at the Battle of King's Mountain.[14] Some time after the death of his parents, John moved with his family to the mouth of Limestone Creek, near the present Limestone, Greene County, Tennessee, and it was here that David Crockett was born, the fifth son of his parents, on August 17, 1786.[15]

At the time of David's birth, the East Tennessee country was engaged in a revolt against North Carolina, attempting to establish a separate state of Franklin under the leadership of John Sevier. John Crockett seems to have been identified with the Franklinites.[16] Therefore, there is some point to the claim recently advanced by some Tennesseans that David Crockett was born in the state of Franklin. Since that state later collapsed, however, and North Carolina's authority was confirmed, it is technically true that David was born in North Carolina.

The family next moved to a place on Cove Creek in Greene County, where David's father built a mill with Thomas Galbraith. After this mill was destroyed by a flood, probably in 1794, the Crocketts moved to a tract of land described in Jefferson County records as "containing three hundred acres lying and being on the South side of the Main Holston Road and within a few miles of Perkinses Iron Works on Mossy Creek . . .," which John Crockett had bought in 1792. Although this property was sold under the sheriff's hammer on November 4, 1795, Shackford believes the Crocketts were allowed to continue to operate a tavern on that site on the road between Knoxville and Abingdon, Virginia. He claims that the tavern was ten or twelve miles north of Dandridge, near the present Jefferson City, and this site is confirmed by the fact that contemporary travelers described Perkins' iron works as being on Mossy Creek, four miles from the Holston River. David Crockett's memory merely placed the tavern of his

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14Page 20. Both received payments for military service. Penelope J. Allen, *Tennessee Soldiers in the Revolution* (Bristol, 1935), 18.

15*Autobiography,* 21; Shackford, *David Crockett,* 6; Austin P. Foster, "David Crockett," *Tennessee Historical Magazine* (Nashville, 1915-1937), IX (Oct., 1925), 166. For information concerning a marker erected by the DAR on this site, see Louise W. Reynolds, "The Pioneer Crockett Family of Tennessee," *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* (Washington, D. C.), LV (April, 1921), 186-91. As a result of the "Davy" Crockett fad in 1955, efforts were begun to restore the cabin in which it was believed David was born. *Knoxville Journal,* June 13, 1955.

16Samuel C. Williams, *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (Johnson City, 1924), 273.

boyhood days on "the road from Abbingdon [*sic*] to Knoxville," and the people of Morristown, largely on the basis of recollections of old settlers, are convinced that it was located in the Morningside section of that city. A nearby ridge has long been known as Crockett's Ridge.[17] It is probable, since John Crockett lost title to the Mossy Creek land, that he later moved to the Morristown site and operated there the tavern which David mentioned in his *Autobiography.*

Teamsters frequently stopped at the tavern, and at the age of twelve David hired out to a Dutch teamster by the name of Jacob Siler en route to Rockville, Virginia.[18] His employer seems to have appreciated the young lad as a responsible, trustworthy helper, and rewarded him with extra cash. But David soon grew homesick, escaped from his master, and braved a perilous journey of four hundred miles to return to his wilderness home in East Tennessee.

Although David was very happy to be at home again, unfortunate circumstances soon made a prodigal of him. His father started him to school, but becoming a truant after four days, David left home to avoid being punished by his father and the schoolmaster, Benjamin Kitchen. Young Crockett spent the next several months in the service of a number of employers, one of whom was a teamster with whom he went to Baltimore. While in this city he visited the wharf, became interested in the ships and sailors; and had his employer not prevented, perhaps David would have taken a voyage to London and no doubt his life would have been quite different. Because this employer was very cruel and unreasonable, David broke away from him and spent the next

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[17]Shackford, *David Crockett,* 6-7, 294 (n. 13, 14), citing North Carolina and Jefferson County deed records; Samuel C. Williams, "Early Iron Works in the Tennessee Country," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Nashville), VI (Mar., 1947), 43-44; *Autobiography,* 24. The claims for the Morristown site have been made by the Goodspeed Publishing Company, *History of Tennessee,* East Tennessee edition (Nashville, 1887), 868, and Cora Davis Brooks, History of Morristown, 1787-1936 (typewritten transcript by Historical Records Survey, University of Tennessee Library), 10. Morristown is in that part of the former Jefferson County which became Hamblen County in 1870. This site for the Crockett tavern was marked by the Sons of the American Revolution and more recently by the Tennessee Historical Commission. In 1949 there was uncovered by an excavation the remains of an old well lined with hand-hewn cedar at the exact spot where an old resident had claimed the well of the Crockett tavern was supposed to be. Morristown *Daily Gazette and Mail,* July 21, 1949. Plans for the restoration of the tavern at that site are now under way. To add to the confusion, the claim has been advanced in Dandridge that the Crockett tavern was located eight miles east of that town. Maxine Mathews, "Old Inns of East Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 2 (1930), 31.

[18]Except where otherwise indicated, the following account of David's boyhood is based on the *Autobiography,* 24-49.

three years working for a number of employers at different occupations and for low wages before returning to his tavern home.

David's experiences had given him an exceptional measure of maturity as shown by the manner in which he responded to his improvident father's need for financial aid. He worked six months for a neighbor to pay off a note of thirty-six dollars which his father owed the neighbor. David then engaged his services to a Quaker, John Kennedy, who lived fifteen miles from the Crockett home. His new employer also presented him with a note for forty dollars which John Crockett owed him. So David worked a second six months to cancel another note for his father.

After paying off his father's note, David continued to work for Quaker Kennedy to obtain funds with which to buy badly-needed clothing. This additional service introduced David to romance, for he fell in love with Kennedy's niece, only to learn regretfully that she was engaged to another. David felt that his lack of education was perhaps responsible for his not being able to attract the interest of this young woman. Determined to get an education, he arranged to go to a school taught in the neighborhood by a married son of his employer. For six months he worked for the schoolmaster two days a week so that he might attend school four days a week. During this time he learned to read in a primer, to write his name, and to do some very elementary arithmetic.

With six months of schooling and being nineteen years of age, David decided that he needed to marry and establish a home. So he lost no time in falling in love a second time. The records of Jefferson County show that on October 21, 1805, he obtained a license to marry Margaret Elder, but she broke the engagement.[19] Although disappointed and deceived, David, being invested with youth, vigor, the call of outdoor life, and a gay spirit, was able to cast off a gloomy countenance and mood and he soon fell in love with a beautiful Scotch-Irish girl, Polly Finley, whom he married in 1806, despite the opposition of the girl's mother.[20]

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[19]Marriage License and Bond Book, 1792-1840, Jefferson County, Tenn. (Jefferson County Courthouse, Dandridge), 53. David in his *Autobiography* said he was eighteen at the time, but he was mistaken by one year. The returned license hangs in a frame on a wall in the clerk's office in the Jefferson County Courthouse.

[20]The marriage is recorded in Jefferson County as of August 16, 1806, and also a marriage bond: "Davy Crockett, with Thomas Doggett, security, binds himself in a bond of twelve hundred and fifty dollars to Gov. John Sevier, Aug. 1, 1806 to marry Polly

For a few years Polly and David lived on a rented farm near her father's home, but they were not able to accumulate much fortune. So, after his family was increased by two sons—John Wesley, born on July 10, 1807, and William, born in 1809, David decided to seek more fertile land farther west beyond the Cumberland Mountains. After a long and tiresome journey in the fall of 1811, the Crocketts reached a beautiful spot near the headwaters of Mulberry Creek, a branch of Elk River, in what is now Moore County, Tennessee.[21]

The forests surrounding Crockett's new frontier home were full of deer and smaller game, much to the liking of David, who was by nature an ardent hunter. But even plenty of wild game did not long entice David Crockett, and in two years time his restless nature required another move. This time he moved his family to Franklin County, Tennessee, and settled on Bean Creek about ten miles below the present town of Winchester. This was Crockett's home, which he called "Kentuck," until after the War of 1812.[22]

When Crockett heard in September, 1813, that hostile Creek Indians had attacked Fort Mims in the vicinity of Mobile, Alabama, his anger was aroused, and according to his *Autobiography,* he was the second or third man in the county to volunteer. The term of service was ninety days. At Winchester, Captain Francis Jones organized a company which Crockett joined, and later under reorganization of this unit, he served as a private in the Second Regiment of Volunteer Mounted

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Finlay." Its signature by David shows his ability to write his name at that time. Variations in spelling of names was customary during that period. The *Autobiography* (p. 49) says Polly's mother was Irish, but the Finley family was Scotch (or Scotch-Irish) in origin. Torrence, *Colonel "Davy" Crockett,* 5-6. William Finley, Polly's father, accompanied Daniel Boone on his explorations of the West, and it has been said he was descended from MacBeth, King of Scotland. Amelia Williams, "A Critical Study of the Siege of the Alamo and of the Personnel of its Defenders," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (Austin, Tex.), XXXVII (Oct., 1933), 106.

[21]In his *Autobiography* (p. 50), David said he lived at that place "in the years 1809 and possibly '10," before moving to Franklin County, but again his memory played him false regarding chronology. Jefferson County records show that he served on a jury, September 11, 1811, in Dandridge. Jefferson County Court Minute Book, No. 5 (typewritten transcript by Historical Records Survey, University of Tennessee Library), 191 (original pagination). David's Mulberry Creek home was in Lincoln County while he lived there, but the site became a part of Moore County when that county was created in 1871. It is about one mile and a half from the county line, northeast of Fayetteville. Shackford, *David Crockett,* 295 (n. 23, 24), citing a surveyor's entry book in Tennessee State Archives. According to Judge John Morrison and Colonel Bob. Hamsley, *The Real David Crockett* (Lawrenceburg, 1955), 9-10, the site is about three miles northeast of Lynchburg (the Tennessee Historical Commission recently erected a highway marker designating this approximate location), and they speculate that David may have used in his distillery water from the same spring which later made the name "Jack Daniels" famous.

[22]*Ibid.,* 18, 295 (n. 2); *Autobiography,* 49-51.

Riflemen commanded by Colonel Newton Cannon.[23] Major General Andrew Jackson and Colonel (later Brigadier General) John Coffee commanded, respectively, the infantry and cavalry divisions which were organized, as authorized by the legislature convened in a special session in late September by Governor Willie Blount, to drive the Creeks out of the Alabama country. Thus Coffee was Crockett's commanding officer.[24]

While Coffee's forces remained at Camp Batey near Huntsville, early in October, waiting for the arrival of other volunteers and making preparations to invade Creek territory, Major John H. Gibson came to request some trustworthy volunteers to accompany him across the Tennessee River for the purpose of scouting in the Creek country. Gibson was referred to Captain Jones, who selected Crockett, because he was good with the rifle, and gave Crockett the privilege of selecting a scouting companion. Crockett chose George Russell, and early the next morning Major Gibson set out with twelve mounted scouts from Coffee's camp.[25]

Having crossed the Tennessee River at Ditto's Landing, they penetrated into the Creek territory about seven miles before camping for the night. Here John Haynes, a well-known Indian trader who was familiar with the Creek country, agreed to join them as a guide. The next morning the scouts separated with Major Gibson in charge of one group and Crockett in charge of the other. It was understood that Gibson was to stop at the house of a friendly Creek by the name of Dick Brown, and Crockett was to go to the house of Dick's father. After obtaining all possible information, Gibson and Crockett, as prearranged, were to meet at the junction of two roads about fifteen miles distant. When Crockett and his scouts reported to the appointed place that night, Major Gibson had not returned.

The next day Crockett, although concerned about the possible fate of Gibson and his scouts, pushed ahead several miles with his scouting

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23*Ibid.*, 51-52; Records of the Adjutant General's Office (National Archives, Washington, D. C.), Group 94. For one term of service, September 24, 1813, to December 29, 1813, Crockett received $65.99. David, in the *Autobiography*, erred in saying the term of enlistment was sixty days.

24Shackford, *David Crockett*, 296 (n. 5); Augustus C. Buell, *History of Andrew Jackson*, 2 vols. (New York, 1904), I, 295; Edward Scott (ed.), *Laws of The State of Tennessee*, . . . 2 vols. (Knoxville, 1821), II, 103-04.

25The account of this expedition is based largely on *Autobiography*, 52-57; but for approximate dates, see S. P. Waldo, *Memoirs of Andrew Jackson*, . . . (Hartford, 1820), 67-68; and John Reid and John H. Eaton, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* . . . (Philadelphia, 1817), 36-37.

mates to the house of a white man by the name of Radcliff, who had married a Creek woman and lived just inside the boundary of the Creek Nation. Radcliff informed Crockett that the painted warriors had stopped at his house that morning. After dinner, since the night was clear and the moon "about the full," Crockett and his men hurried off to the camp of some friendly Creeks about eight miles away. These Indians were fearful that the "Red Sticks," as the hostile faction of the Creek warriors was called, would suddenly arrive and punish them for entertaining the Americans. Guards were stationed to prevent such a surprise visit. Late that night Crockett was informed by an Indian runner that the "Red Sticks" had been crossing the Coosa River all day at Ten Islands and were moving forward to give General Jackson battle. Crockett felt that he should get this information to Colonel Coffee and the main army at Camp Batey, more than sixty miles distant, as quickly as possible. Taking advantage of the moonlit night, David and his companions hastened back to camp, arriving about ten o'clock the next morning. Their information, which seemed very important to Crockett, was ignored by Coffee. Major Gibson returned the next day and made the same report. Colonel Coffee believed Gibson because, as Crockett explained, he was an officer instead of a mere soldier.[26] He became very much alarmed, and sent a message to General Jackson at Fayetteville about the situation at Ten Islands, requesting that he and his troops join him as soon as possible. By a forced march Jackson and his men arrived the next day.

Jackson dispatched Coffee with a force of 800 men along Crockett's previous route to explore the Black Warrior River region. Supplies of the army were very meager and, according to Crockett, Coffee permitted him to hunt as they marched in order that he might supply the army with meat. When they reached Radcliff's they learned this half-breed's secret. He had been the one who had sent the Indian runner into camp with a false report in order to frighten the scouts back to Camp Batey.[27]

Some time later Crockett participated in the Battle of Tallushatchee, in which the Americans under the leadership of the recently-

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[26]Shackford thinks this incident was one reason for Crockett's hatred of the "brass," evidenced by his effort while in Congress to have West Point abolished. Shackford, also, by checking contemporary almanacs, discovered that there actually was a nearly full moon on the night, according to his calculations, Crockett returned to camp, October 6-7, 1813. *David Crockett,* 21-23.

[27]*Ibid.,* 23; *Autobiography,* 58-60.

promoted General Coffee, retaliated successfully for the Fort Mims Massacre. Concerning the battle, Crockett remarked: "We shot them like dogs; and then set the house on fire, and burned it with the forty-six warriors in it." He also told of how the soldiers returned the next morning and found some potatoes in the cellar of the same house. Because they were all "hungry as wolves," they ate them even though "the oil of the Indians we had burned the day before had run down on them, and they looked like they had been stewed with fat meat."[28] The next major battle was near the friendly Creek town of Talladega, where Jackson's infantry and Coffee's mounted riflemen scored another victory, relieving it from a siege of the Red Sticks. Again, Crockett's account supplements the official report. He described vividly how a part of the besieging force of Creeks managed to escape "through a part of our line, which was made up of drafted militia, which broke ranks, and they passed." Jackson, in his first report, November 11, 1813, to Governor Blount, paid glowing tribute to the courage of all his troops; but in a corrected report two days later, he admitted, "had there been no departure from the original order of battle, not an Indian could have escaped."[29]

For several weeks after the Battle at Talladega Jackson, encamped at Fort Strother, made no effort to open an offensive campaign against the Creeks because of lack of cooperation of East Tennessee troops under General Cocke and mutiny among his own men. This mutinous disposition was due in the first place to the scarcity of provisions plus a general desire to go home. Jackson's infantry was made up of two groups, state militia and United States volunteers. He was therefore able to use on one day the volunteers to keep the militia in line, and on the next day the militia to keep the volunteers from going home. At about the same time, General Coffee's mounted volunteers, which included David Crockett, were allowed to return to the settlements to "recruit their horses," get winter clothing, and then to rendezvous at Huntsville on December 8.[30]

In his discussion of this part of the Creek War, David Crockett appears to have been guilty of the one major distortion of fact which characterizes the *Autobiography* as published in 1834. Failing to men-

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[28] *Ibid.*, 61-62. *Cf.* Coffee's official report to Jackson, Nov. 4, 1813, Waldo, *Memoirs of Andrew Jackson*, 72-75.

[29] *Ibid.*, 79-84.

[30] *Ibid.*, 85-96; Reid and Eaton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 52-65, 90.

tion that he was one of the group of cavalry permitted to leave temporarily, he wrote that he and other volunteers defied Jackson's orders and went home despite the armed guard the General had lined up to prevent it. He also gave as a major reason for the desertion the claim that the enlistment period of sixty days had long since expired, whereas the War Department records (already cited) show that the enlistment was for ninety days, and that he actually served and was paid for that period of time and a few days more.[31] Professor Shackford is of the opinion that David fabricated his participation in a mutiny in defiance of Jackson because of his current (1834) hatred of Old Hickory, who was then engaged in a bitter effort to drive Crockett out of Congress.[32]

Actually, David's account of his mutinous activity may not have been a complete fabrication. A short time later, under what were slightly different circumstances, he probably was guilty of what Jackson considered outright desertion. In an effort to put his alleged desertion at Ft. Strother in a better light, Crockett continued his fabrication. He said that when the deserters reached Huntsville they met a regiment of reinforcements, "sixty day volunteers," on their way to join Jackson. He continued:

> We got home pretty safely, and in a short time we had procured fresh horses and a supply of clothing better suited to the season; and then we returned to Fort Deposite [*sic*], where our officers held a sort of *"national convention"* on the subject of a message they had received from General Jackson,—demanding that on our return we should serve out *six months*. . . . I knowed if I went back home I couldn't rest, for I felt it my duty to be out; and when out was, somehow or other, always delighted to be in the very thickest of the danger. A few of us, therefore, determined to push on and join the army. The number I do not recollect, but it was very small.[33]

The fabrications are obvious. Deserters would not have returned voluntarily to Fort Deposit. Coffee's cavalry returned because they had left with permission to "recruit horses" more than a month before their three-month tour of duty had expired, and with the pledge that they would return and complete the campaign. After they had rendezvoused

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[31] *Autobiography*, 64-65. See also note 23, above.

[32] *David Crockett*, 27-28, 296-97 (n. 12, 13). Shackford also calls attention to the way in which David's account is "worked into an elaborate figure comparing Jackson's highhandedness on that occasion with that of his removal of the deposits from the U. S. Bank. . . ." He confuses somewhat, however, the several episodes of mutiny with which Jackson had to deal during the Creek War.

[33] *Autobiography*, 65-66.

at Huntsville on December 8 and marched toward Fort Deposit, they met not reinforcements but retiring infantry on their way home. First, there was the group of United States volunteers who had enlisted for a year in December, 1812, gone on the Natchez expedition with Jackson, returned home, and then were re-recruited for the Creek War. Their year of service had expired and Jackson's effort to deduct from that year the period of time between the Natchez expedition and the Creek campaign had proved unsuccessful. Next were the state militia who had enlisted for three months under the state law but who had been inducted into federal service under a congressional act providing for a six months tour of duty. Jackson had attempted to hold them for six months but had been forced to release them when Governor Blount had refused to back him up. Coffee's mounted volunteers, who had also enlisted for three months at about the same time, insisted that they had as much right to go home at the expiration of their terms of service as the infantry. Jackson, writing from Fort Strother to Coffee, tried to hold them to their promise to serve out the campaign; but all but a handful riotously insisted upon the privilege of going home and were discharged.[34]

David was not one of that handful, his own autobiographical statement to the contrary notwithstanding, for his war record in the National Archives shows that he was discharged on December 29, 1813. His rejection of Jackson's entreaty from afar to remain in service was not a sufficiently direct defiance of the General to be of much use in his political campaign; so it appears that he concocted the story of an earlier mutiny at Fort Strother in Jackson's presence for political purposes. In order to make it appear less reprehensible than departure for home at that time would have been, before his term of service had expired, he reduced his term of enlistment from ninety to sixty days; and then he imagined himself a member of the small group of Coffee's volunteers who agreed late in December, 1813, to serve out the campaign against the Indians. Having gone so far in his practice of deception, he had to go on. Therefore, he included in his *Autobiography* accounts of two small engagements in January, 1814, with the Creeks in which he actually did not participate, because he had already gone home. To explain his absence at the time of the important Battle of

[34]Reid and Eaton, *Life of Jackson,* 90-98; P. M. Hamer, *Tennessee: A History,* 4 vols. (New York, 1933), I, 225-27.

Tohopeka (Horseshoe Bend), March 28, 1814, at which the Creeks were finally crushed, he gave himself a furlough for the period of that engagement.[35]

Crockett actually did return to service on September 28, 1814. After negotiating a peace treaty with the Indians following his victory at Tohopeka, Jackson asked Blount for a new group of Tennessee volunteers to drive the British from Pensacola, since they were planning to incite and equip some hostile Creeks who had refused to accept Jackson's treaty. When Crockett learned that Jackson was planning an expedition against the British, he was determined to return to war although his wife entreated him to remain at home. This time he entered service as a noncommissioned officer, as third sergeant in Captain John Cowan's company in "Major" William Russell's separate battalion of scouts.[36] Covering the last part of the journey on foot, because of lack of forage for the horses, this company arrived too late at Pensacola to participate in the capture of this city.

The remainder of Crockett's service with Russell's company consisted in scouting for hostile Creeks who had not surrendered, and in foraging for food and provisions for the army. He scouted and hunted along the Escambia, Coosa, and Tallapoosa rivers, and retraced points of the battleground in Alabama between Fort Williams and Fort Strother. Thus, while Jackson and the main army went on to Mobile, New Orleans, and glory, Crockett was relegated to the backwash of the war, without the opportunity to engage in any significant battles. The chief problem his company faced was the struggle to avoid starvation. Dissatisfied, Crockett, according to the *Autobiography*, returned home; and when he received orders to scout for Indians on the Black Warrior and Cahawba rivers, since he had remaining only thirty days to serve in the army, he gave his month's pay to a young man who agreed to go in his place. This may well be another falsification, for his honorable discharge, dated March 27, 1814, states that he had performed "a tour

[35] *Autobiography*, 66-68. Shackford is of the opinion that his accounts of the small battles of Emuckfau and Enotachopco creeks were based on histories of the Creek War already in print by 1834 such as those by Major John Reid (and Eaton) and S. P. Waldo. He obtained from the Adjutant General's Office, October 30, 1947, verification of the fact that David did not return to the army again, after his release on December 29, 1813, until September 28, 1814. *David Crockett*, 28. The imaginary furlough probably was due to the realization by Crockett and his amanuensis that it would not be safe for him to claim participation in the important Battle of Tohopeka when he actually was not there.

[36] *Autobiography*, 69, fails modestly to mention this noncommissioned rank. But see Shackford, *David Crockett*, 29-30, citing payroll and muster records. During the campaign Russell finally did achieve the rank of major.

of duty of six months" with "valor, under the most trying hardships."[37]

A little more than a year after he returned from the war, although it is not mentioned in the *Autobiography,* David was elected a lieutenant in the Franklin County militia on May 21, 1815. A short while later, probably the summer of 1815, Polly Crockett died, leaving David with three small children to care for. In the spring or summer of 1816 he married a widow, Elizabeth Patton, whose husband had been killed in the Creek War. She was a woman of good family who owned a good farm, and this marriage considerably improved his status in life.[38] The next fall, in the company of some neighbors, he explored the Alabama country, recently acquired from the Creek Indians, looking for a likely place to settle. He suffered a severe attack of what appears to have been malaria, however, and was fortunate to get home alive. In fact, he was reported dead. Concerning this report, he commented with Mark Twainish humor, "I know'd this was a whopper of a lie, as soon as I heard it."[39]

Instead of moving to the Alabama country, he took advantage of a treaty of 1816 with the Chickasaws by which the Indian title to the southwest corner of Middle Tennessee was extinguished. After another tour of exploration he chose as a place of settlement the head of Shoal Creek near the site of Lawrenceburg, which was to be the county seat of Lawrence County. He moved his family to this place probably in September, 1817, about a month before the county was created and about two months before he was named by the legislature as one of its justices of the peace.[40]

Crockett not only served as magistrate of this county, but was also a lieutenant-colonel of the militia, a town commissioner of Lawrenceburg, a court referee, and one of the first road commissioners for this backwoods county.[41] He admitted in his *Autobiography* that

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[37]*Ibid.,* 29-32; *Autobiography,* 69-83; photostatic copy of Crockett's discharge, with the rank of fourth sergeant, signed by General Coffee, in possession of E. E. Patton, Knoxville, Tenn. Also, Professor Shackford could find no mention in the official records of his hiring a substitute and doubts the reliability of that part of David's account.

[38]Shackford, *David Crockett,* 33-35; *Autobiography,* 84-85.

[39]*Ibid.,* 85-88.

[40]*Ibid.,* 88-89; Hamer, *Tennessee,* I, 248; Shackford, *David Crockett,* 37-38.

[41]Lawrence County Court Minutes, I, 1818-1823 (typewritten transcripts by Historical Records Survey, in University of Tennessee Library), *passim.* The statement in the *Autobiography* (pages 88-89): "We remained here some two or three years, without any law at all; and . . . found it necessary to set up a temporary government of our own. . . . We kept this up till our Legislature added us to the white settlements in Giles county; . . ." is a great exaggeration and the result of faulty recollection. Lawrence County was

these duties seriously taxed his limited educational background. He claimed that he "relied on natural born sense" rather than on any knowledge of law, and also that he improved his handwriting. Crockett also succeeded in defeating Captain Clint Matthews for colonel of the militia of Lawrence County, when the Captain tried to trick him into running against his son for major. This gave him more prestige and he was asked to become a candidate for the legislature to represent Lawrence and Hickman counties. While canvassing, he admitted that he had never read a newspaper and knew nothing about government. But he rapidly developed his talents as a stump speaker, and his humorous anecdotes and treats of liquor won for him a decisive victory.[42]

When the first session of the Fourteenth General Assembly convened at Murfreesboro on September 17, 1821, Crockett was placed on the Committee of Propositions and Grievances. The only resolution of importance which he submitted at this session was one opposing the practice of a number of surveyors south and west of the Congressional Reservation Line of making more than one entry on the same warrant or certificate other than the entries made by the occupants. Accordingly, the legislature passed an act forbidding any surveyor to make more than one entry on the same warrant with the penalty for infraction of the law removal from office, payment of a fine ranging from $1,000 to $5,000, and imprisonment for a term of not less than one year. Thus, Crockett began his legislative career as a defender of the interests of "squatters" south and west of the Congressional Reservation Line in the region of West Tennessee and southwestern Middle Tennessee which had been originally reserved in 1806 for the United States, but which had been opened to North Carolina civil and military land warrants in 1818.[43] He was to continue this battle as his chief aim as a legislator throughout his career.

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organized early in 1818; and there is no evidence that there was ever any jurisdiction there from Giles County. See also Shackford, *David Crockett,* 37-38.

[42]*Autobiography,* 89-94. In this work he probably exaggerated his ignorance for political reasons, as when he "admitted" that he had no idea what the judiciary was when James K. Polk told him that the judiciary would be radically changed at the next session of the legislature. *Ibid.,* 95; Shackford, *David Crockett,* 45.

[43]Tennessee *House Journal,* 1821, pp. 4, 34, 84-85; Tennessee *Acts,* 1821, p. 38. For an interesting discussion of how the squatters were frequently driven off the lands they were occupying by holders of North Carolina warrants, see Shackford, *David Crockett,* 48-49. The West Tennessee portion of the Congressional Reservation had been acquired from the Chickasaws by the famous Jackson Purchase of 1818. *Ibid.,* 299 (n. 1).

Among the votes which he cast were several which also indicated the lines of policy he was going to follow consistently. He voted against a bill which would have authorized courts to hire out insolvent persons to pay costs levied against them in criminal cases, against a bill to "suppress the vice of gaiming," and against the granting of a divorce to ex-Governor Joseph McMinn, as well as several other divorce applications. He also voted for the calling of a constitutional convention to democratize Tennessee's constitution, but agreed to postpone the question until the special session of the legislature which it was expected Governor William Carroll would call for that purpose.[44]

It was also during this first session of Crockett's legislative endeavors that he acquired the nickname, "the gentleman from the cane." A representative referred to as "Mr. M—" (presumably James C. Mitchell) used the phrase in a slighting manner referring to Crockett, and when David demanded satisfaction he denied having any derogatory intention. The next day, after Mitchell had made a speech, Crockett got up with a cambric ruffle of the same cut Mitchell affected attached to his own coarse shirt. The legislators got the point and gave him a round of applause, to the discomfiture of the more aristocratic Mitchell. Thus, Crockett increased his popularity among the poorer class.[45]

Before the legislature adjourned, a financial misfortune visited the Crockett family back home. His large grist mill, powder mill, and distillery on Shoal Creek were swept away by a flood. The following spring Crockett started for the West in search of a new home. He decided to build a cabin about 150 miles distant on the Rutherford Fork of the Obion River in what was then Carroll County, but which became Gibson County in 1823. But before he could move his family to this new location, he had to attend an extra session of the legislature, as well as to make arrangements for the settlement of a number of judgments against him.[46]

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[44]*Ibid.*, 50-52; *House Journal*, 1821, pp. 74, 157, 263, 393-400. For brief discussions of the McMinn divorce and constitutional convention issues, see Robert H. White (ed.), *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee*, Vol. II, *1821-1835* (Nashville, 1952), 21-26.

[45]Shackford, *David Crockett*, 52-53, citing *Life and Adventures of Colonel David Crockett of West Tennessee* (Cincinnati, 1833). For Shackford's identification of the writer of this work as Mathew St. Clair Clarke and his speculations as to the extent of Crockett's identification with its production, see *ibid.*, 253-64.

[46]*Ibid.*, 50-56; *Autobiography*, 95-107; Lawrence County Court Minutes, I, 420-508, *passim*.

During this special session Crockett was considerably more active than he had been during the regular session, having learned more about legislative procedure. He introduced two bills which were enacted into law. One extended the boundaries of Hickman and Lawrence counties and the other moved the office of the surveyor of the seventh district to Lawrenceburg. The petitions he presented from the citizens and county court of Hickman County to retain the seat of government at the town of Vernon were also successful.[47] Although one of the reasons for the calling of the special session by Governor Carroll was to provide for an extension of time for the filing and adjudication of North Carolina land warrants, Crockett joined in an unsuccessful effort of the house to prevent such an extension; when the senate insisted on its nonconcurrence, Crockett and a majority of the house finally approved the measure. Since the depression following the panic of 1819 had not yet ended, he introduced several bills for relief of various and sundry individuals, including one Mathias, "a free man of color." He continued his support of the movement for a constitutional convention, but the bill failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote. Finally, one of his speeches to the assembly, against the practice of fee-grabbing, was reported in the Nashville press.[48]

After the adjournment of the legislature, Crockett resumed his hunting in the Reelfoot Lake region, which is still called the "hunters' and fishermen's Paradise," and he recounted some of his thrilling experiences in the *Autobiography*. In 1823 Crockett was again a candidate for the legislature. But this was a more difficult race than that of 1821, for his opponent was Dr. William E. Butler, a nephew of the wife of General Jackson and one of the wealthiest, most public-spirited, aristocratic, and hospitable men of Jackson, Tennessee. Although Crockett lacked talents possessed by Dr. Butler, he had some native ability for acquiring votes. According to his account, he had a special hunting shirt which he wore when campaigning. It was made of buckskin, unusually large, and had two pockets. In one pocket he carried tobacco and in the other whiskey. When he met a prospective voter,

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[47]*House Journal,* 1822, pp. 34, 37, 82, 88, 107; *Acts,* 1822, pp. 83, 160, 117-18. See also Jerome D. Spence and David L. Spence, *A History of Hickman County, Tennessee* (Nashville, 1900), 387-89.

[48]White (ed.), *Messages,* II, 29; *House Journal,* 1822, pp. 35, 42, 56, 114, 167, *et passim;* Shackford, *David Crockett,* 57-58, citing *National Banner and Nashville Whig,* Aug. 14, 1822.

he would treat him first with whiskey. But before leaving him, he would hand him a twist of tobacco to replace the "chaw" he had disposed of when he took the drink. Crockett reasoned that if he left a man in a good humor, in as good shape as he found him, he would vote for him on election day.[49]

During the campaign Crockett canvassed in Jackson, because it was apparent that Butler would be very strong in his home town. While electioneering in this town, Crockett was invited to dinner at the Butler home. The story is told that when Crockett entered the parlor of the Butler home, he leaped to his chair to avoid stepping on the fine carpet, kept his feet on the rounds of the chair, and leaped again when leaving the parlor. He then denounced his opponent throughout the campaign for having such a fine carpet that "every day he *walks* on truck finer than any gowns your wives or your daughters, in all their lives, ever wore!" Another story reveals Crockett's clever tricks in campaigning. On one speaking occasion he persuaded Dr. Butler to let him speak first. In those days it was the custom for opponents to speak to the same crowd on the same afternoon. Mischievously, Crockett took the stump and since he had heard Dr. Butler's speech many times before, gave it verbatim. Thus his opponent was left without a speech.[50]

Crockett's methods paid off with a victory in the August election, and in the Fifteenth General Assembly, which met at Murfreesboro on September 16, 1823, he represented a district of five counties: Humphreys, Perry, Henderson, Carroll, and Madison. Early in the session Crockett was selected to serve on three standing committees, one of which was that on Vacant Lands Lying North and East of the Congressional Reservation Line, and also on special committees on military affairs and on the organization of new counties.[51]

Two groups were opposing each other in the state at that time. One was led by John Overton, wealthy judge, land speculator, bank president, and law partner of Andrew Jackson. In the legislature the leader of the Overton group was Felix Grundy, while the spokesman

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[49] *Autobiography*, 101-10.

[50] J. G. Cisco, "Madison County," *American Historical Magazine*, VIII (Jan., 1903), 29-30; H. S. Turner, "Andrew Jackson and David Crockett: Reminiscences of Colonel Chester," *Magazine of American History* (New York, 1878-1893), XXVII (May, 1892), 385-87; Emma Inman Williams, *Historic Madison* (Jackson, Tenn., 1946), 50-51.

[51] *Autobiography*, 10; *House Journal*, 1823, pp. 4, 17-18, 23, 36; Shackford, *David Crockett*, 66.

of the opposing group, composed mainly of farmers and merchants, was James K. Polk.

The legislature of 1823 had to deal with the disposition of lands belonging to the state, a problem which was magnified by its relationship to public education. A law of 1806 gave the United States title to the land south and west of the Congressional Reservation Line, which included all of West Tennessee and the southwest corner of Middle Tennessee. Tennessee acquired ownership of the remaining land, but was required to satisfy all land claims under North Carolina's laws of 1782-1783. As indicated above, these claims were so numerous that practically all of the good land in the state was required to satisfy them, even including the Congressional Reservation, which was made available for that purpose in 1818. Only the region south of the French Broad River in East Tennessee was unavailable for the location of these North Carolina warrants.[52]

Tennesseans' patience was exhausted when the legislature of North Carolina gave to her state university all land grants to soldiers unclaimed by her veterans of the Revolution, and the University of North Carolina presented these warrants for acceptance. In 1822 Felix Grundy had succeeded by a trick in getting some of the claims accepted, on condition that some of the warrants be given to two Tennessee colleges. When the trustees of the University of North Carolina presented additional warrants to the Tennessee legislature in 1823, Crockett and Polk objected. Polk argued that the lands in the Western District (Congressional Reservation) should be reserved for a fund to support education, assuming that Congress could be induced to cede the remaining lands to the state. Crockett, coming from the ranks of the poor people and interested in the rise of the common man, demanded that the squatters occupying lands in this district be given priority in securing the land on which they were living. By a close vote Crockett, Polk, and their supporters succeeded in thwarting temporarily the plans of the University of North Carolina trustees. They were not successful, however, in their efforts to prevent the granting of an extension of time during which other holders of North Carolina warrants could locate their lands in the former Congressional Reserve;

[52]Charles G. Sellers, Jr., "James K. Polk's Political Apprenticeship," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 25 (1953), 37-40, 43-44; Stanley J. Folmsbee, *Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee, 1796-1845* (Knoxville, 1939), 21-22.

but they won for the occupants pre-emption rights in purchasing the land on which they were living and which they had improved.[53]

Another land controversy which came before the legislature in 1823 concerned the sale of land in the Hiwassee District, which included the territory between the Little Tennessee and Hiwassee rivers, acquired from the Cherokee Indians in 1819. When the legislature considered a "graduation" system providing for a gradual reduction in the price of land ranging from $1.50 to 12½ cents per acre, with preference given to squatters during each period, three significant amendments were submitted, one by Polk, one by Felix Grundy, and another by Thomas Kelly. On each of these amendments Polk and Crockett cast opposing votes. Polk's amendment to fix the top price in the graduation scale at $2.00 instead of $1.50 lost, with Crockett voting against it. Grundy's amendment to sell the Hiwassee lands for cash was adopted, with Polk voting in the affirmative and Crockett in the negative. Crockett explained that "if the sale was made for ready money, poor people would get but very little if any of the land." He had not, he said, "come here to legislate for ready-money men." Kelly's amendment to allow widows of the district to keep the quarter sections on which they were living was rejected by a close vote, with Crockett voting for it and Polk voting against it. On November 15, 1823, the original bill and graduation system were enacted into law.[54] These votes show clearly that Crockett had a mind of his own and did not follow blindly the persuasive leadership of the more-learned legislator from Columbia, James K. Polk.

A third land controversy in which education was again involved concerned land sales in the area south of the French Broad River. By the Compact of 1806 Tennessee was required to set aside two tracts of 100,000 acres each in this section for the support of colleges and academies, but squatters in this region had pre-emption rights at one dollar an acre. These people had been unwilling to pay even this price and successive legislatures had indulged them, allowing them to buy

[53]Sellers, "Polk's Political Apprenticeship," *loc. cit.*, 43-46; *Acts*, 1823, pp. 42-45; *Nashville Whig*, Sept. 29, 1823; *House Journal*, 1823, pp. 50, 57, 89-90, 148-49, 157, 275. The legislature also adopted a memorial, prepared by Polk and which Crockett presumably supported, asking Congress to cede to Tennessee for educational purposes all remaining land in the Congressional Reservation. *Ibid.*, 325-29; Shackford, *David Crockett*, 70.

[54]Sellers, "Polk's Political Apprenticeship," *loc. cit.*, 46-47; *House Journal*, 1823, pp. 32, 38-39, 43, 45, 136-37, 141, 191-92, 223, 242-43; *Nashville Whig*, Sept. 29, 1823; *Acts*, 1823, pp. 25-27.

their lands on credit and then regularly postponing the collection of the principal and interest when due. Finally, the legislature, in 1823, passed an act providing further "relief" for the squatters by postponing for a short time the collection of interest due on their unpaid installments and remitting one third of the whole debt and interest; but the law also stipulated that any future default in meeting installments when due would result in foreclosure and public sale with the colleges and academies receiving the proceeds. Crockett voted in favor of the bill; but his colleague, Polk, voted against it.[55] In view of the hardships on the squatters which resulted from the numerous foreclosure suits which were filed, it is difficult to explain Crockett's vote. Possibly, he was more interested in West Tennessee squatters than those of East Tennessee. More likely, he was influenced by the fact that the squatters south of the French Broad had obligated themselves to pay one dollar an acre for the lands they were occupying; and one of Crockett's most immutable beliefs, as evidenced by numerous incidents in his career, was his insistence that whenever anyone had voluntarily assumed an obligation, he should be required to live up to it.

It was during this session of 1823 that a permanent fund was created for the support of common schools, and Crockett, as a member of the Committee on Vacant Lands lying North and East of the Congressional Reservation Line, must have been personally identified with this legislation, although it appears that he was absent when the votes were taken. Earlier that year Congress had removed the restriction in the Compact of 1806 which prevented Tennessee from selling land at less than the minimum price under the national land system. This action not only made it possible for Tennessee to introduce the graduation system for the Hiwassee District, as mentioned above, but also to arrange to sell for what it would bring the waste land not taken up by North Carolina warrant holders north and east of the Congressional Reservation Line. The legislature provided for the sale of this land for 12½ cents per acre and set aside the proceeds as the beginning of a permanent common school fund. The law also gave the occupants the first choice in obtaining the land, and it probably was this aspect of the legislation in which Crockett was most interested. As was to be the

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[55]Stanley J. Folmsbee, "Blount College and East Tennessee College, 1794-1840 . . . ," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 17 (1945), 31; *Acts*, 1823, pp. 33-39; *House Journal*, 1823, pp. 188-89.

case throughout his political career, he favored the establishment of common schools and the use of land revenue for their support, but only on condition that the interests of the squatters were adequately protected.[56]

Another of Crockett's political interests was his opposition to legislative handling of divorce cases. Following his participation in the denial of ex-Governor McMinn's divorce petition in 1821, he supported during the special session of 1822 a resolution of J. C. Mitchell's that the legislature not consider any divorce applications during that session. When the senate failed to concur, he supported another resolution that the house of representatives should not act on any divorce petition. This resolution was rejected; and it is interesting to note that Crockett later voted for one divorce and introduced one divorce petition himself, which was rejected on first reading and the house then moved against the hearing of any more divorce actions during that session. When the 1823 legislature convened, Crockett introduced the anti-divorce resolution, which called forth much argument and discussion. In reply to the argument that poor people could not afford divorce proceedings in the courts, Crockett proposed that in indigent cases, where the problem of defraying the expenses of obtaining a divorce in regular court proceedings was involved, the legislature authorize that such cases be prosecuted in the several districts at public expense rather than being brought before the legislature. Although the divorce resolution was defeated in the senate, no divorce was granted by the legislature during this session.[57]

In addition to their differences on the land questions, the Overton-Grundy and the Polk-Crockett factions also tangled over the bank issue. Most of the banks in the state had been forced during the Panic of 1819 to suspend specie payment, that is, refuse to redeem in gold or silver the banknotes they had issued. The legislature, in 1821, passed a bill, which Crockett supported, requiring them to resume specie payment by April, 1824. When the legislature convened in 1823, the

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[56]Sellers, "Polk's Political Apprenticeship," *loc. cit.,* 47-48; *Acts,* 1823, pp. 58-66; *House Journal,* 1823, pp. 277-78, 282-83, 292, 295.

[57]*Ibid.,* 1822, pp. 12-13, 24, 26, 54, 70; *ibid.,* 1823, pp. 17, 29, 38; *Nashville Whig,* Sept. 22, 1823. Other legislative efforts of Crockett's which succeeded were the creation of Gibson County (which included his own home), the establishment of the town of Overton in Perry County, and the authorization of the building of a jail in Perryville. Shackford, *David Crockett,* 59; *House Journal,* 1823, pp. 199, 206, 312; *Acts,* 1823, pp. 179, 196.

pro-bank faction headed by Grundy immediately began efforts to have that resumption law repealed or modified. They were vigorously opposed by a group headed by Polk and Crockett; but eventually the legislature passed a compromise proposal, drafted by Polk, allowing gradual resumption. However, both Polk and Crockett voted against the measure on final passage. Crockett's view seems to have been that the banking system was "a species of swindling on a large scale." But he was more favorably disposed toward the Bank of the State of Tennessee, usually called Grundy's "loan office," a completely state-owned bank with an agency in each county created to loan money to the hard-pressed people during the depression. He successfully sponsored in 1822 and 1823 resolutions to continue in operation the bank's agencies in the respective counties.[58]

Although in most respects Crockett kept the wishes of his constituents in mind, there were two measures that he introduced which, though they failed to pass, were used against him when he ran for Congress two years later. One was a bill to change the times of meeting of certain courts in West Tennessee, and the other a proposal to add an East Tennessee brigade to the West Tennessee militia. John Overton, writing on behalf of Crockett's opponent in 1825, cited these actions as proof that Crockett had neglected the interests of his constituents. He did not, apparently, mention the fact that Crockett also introduced a bill, for which he cast the only "aye" vote, to repeal all laws authorizing stays of executions on judgment. In view of Crockett's avowed methods of campaigning, it is also of interest to note that he opposed a bill to preserve the "purity of elections" which seems to have included a clause prohibiting the use of liquor in soliciting votes. Comparing the measure with the existing law, Crockett claimed he could get along either way. If "treating" were prohibited he could get friends to do it for him. But he believed that everyone should be allowed to treat as much as he liked. He was one of a small group, however, which attempted to amend the bill so as to prohibit the sale of liquor by retail in connection with any election.[59]

[58]Sellers, "Polk's Political Apprenticeship," *loc. cit.,* 40-42; Charles G. Sellers, Jr., "Banking and Politics in Jackson's Tennessee, 1817-1827," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids), XLI (June, 1954), 61-74; Shackford, *David Crockett,* 69; *House Journal,* 1822, pp. 294, 371; *ibid.,* 1823, pp. 229, 312, 321-22, 330.

[59]*Ibid.,* 140, 211, 47, 153, 213-14; *Knoxville Register,* Nov. 14, 1823; Shackford, *David Crockett,* 69. Crockett's resolution against stays of judgments is an evidence of his personal honesty in financial matters, even though he was frequently unable to pay

The action of Crockett's which most distinguished him during the 1823 session was his vote against Andrew Jackson for senator. At that session Colonel John Williams, a candidate for re-election to the United States Senate, was opposed by the Overton faction because they feared that Williams, who had had some differences with Andrew Jackson, would not favor the nomination of Jackson for president in 1824. When it became evident that neither of the two pro-Jackson opponents of Williams could command enough votes to defeat him, they decided to present the name of Jackson himself as Williams' opponent for the Senate. Jackson defeated Williams by a vote of 35 to 25, with Polk deserting Overton's opponents and voting for Jackson. Crockett voted for Williams, explaining later in his *Autobiography* that even at this early date he wanted to prove to the people that he had convictions and was too independent to wear a collar with "the letters engraved on it":

MY DOG.
Andrew Jackson.

He also believed that Williams had "honestly discharged his duty" and therefore deserved another term. The vote, however, in the long run proved very costly to Crockett.[60]

An extra session of the Fifteenth General Assembly, called by Governor Carroll to correct a mistake in the act of 1823 regulating the election of electors of president and vice-president of the United States, convened on September 20, 1824, at Murfreesboro. Because of the new counties created in 1823, Crockett now represented ten counties instead of five. Early in the session Crockett presented a bill for improving the navigation of the rivers in the Western District, and on October 16,

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his debts on time. In 1827 he had still not paid some notes he had signed in 1823. *Ibid.*, 70.

60*Ibid.*, 67-68; *Autobiography*, 111. The dog-collar reference was of course much more applicable to the time of the publication of the *Autobiography* (1834), when David's opposition to Jackson as president was due in large measure to Jackson's dictatorial methods as a party leader, than to 1823, when Jackson had not yet become quite such a political dictator. Nevertheless, Crockett's vote showed his independence, plus the possibility that he was nursing a wounded pride from the time of his relations with Jackson during the war. But he lacked the political acumen of Polk, who stopped his opposition to the Jackson forces short of voting against Jackson for the Senate. See Sellers, "Polk's Political Apprenticeship," *loc. cit.*, 51-52.

1824, such a measure was enacted into law.[61] Crockett introduced a second bill in the interest of internal improvement. He requested an apportionment of the surplus public money that had been acquired from the sale of lots in the town of Jackson in Madison County. This bill, which was passed October 8, provided that this surplus, after a courthouse, prison, stocks, and clerk's offices specified by an act of 1822 had been completed, should be set aside for building a road through the swamp of the Forked Deer River.[62]

Lafayette, the French hero who had helped the United States win its independence in the Revolutionary War, had arrived in this country for a visit and had come to Tennessee while the legislature was in session. Consequently, resolutions were adopted to pay him honor. Among these measures was a bill presented by Crockett to establish the county of Fayette in honor of the French hero. The following day the general assembly passed an act which authorized that a county, to be called Fayette, be established west of Hardeman County and east of Shelby County.[63]

Crockett's chief aim during this special session continued to be the protection of the interests of the squatters in West Tennessee. The legislature had scarcely convened before he introduced a resolution that "the register of West Tennessee issue no grants on entries made south and west of the Congressional Reservation Line by warrants which were before laid on lands north and east of said line, and the lands thus vacated entered at 12½ cents per acre," a practice which he considered fraudulent and against the law. He therefore also introduced another resolution for the investigation of the conduct of the West Tennessee register.[64] The speculators' activity to which he was referring appears to have been roughly as follows. Holders of North Carolina military warrants, given as a bonus for Revolutionary War service, who had located them on poor land on the Cumberland Plateau or Highland Rim before the better lands in the Congressional Reservation had been opened to the satisfaction of North Carolina claims naturally wished they could shift their entries to those better lands in West Tennessee.

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[61] White (ed.), *Messages*, II, 65-68; *Acts*, 1824, p. 122; *House Journal*, 1824, p. 13. Crockett had opposed a similar bill in 1823, after it had been amended so as to provide for the use of prison labor. *Ibid.*, 1823, pp. 309, 319-20.

[62] *Ibid.*, 1824, p. 37; *Acts*, 1824, p. 64.

[63] *House Journal*, 1824, pp. 23-25, 46; *Acts*, 1824, pp. 46-47.

[64] *House Journal*, 1824, pp. 10, 41.

The opportunity to do so presented itself when the Tennessee legislature in 1823, as mentioned above, provided for the disposal of unsold land north and east of the Congressional Reservation Line for 12½ cents an acre. The warrant holders, who usually were speculators, would arrange to have their entries to the poor Middle Tennessee lands cancelled, on condition that they would buy the same land from the state for 12½ cents an acre. They would then use their old soldiers' warrants, which had been returned to them, to enter the same number of acres of land in the new, richer country of West Tennessee. The new lands they selected usually would be occupied by squatters, who had no equally valid title to them and could be forced to give them up. However, under a provision of the law Polk and Crockett had helped to put through in 1823, the speculators were required to allow the squatters the privilege of buying from them any lands on which they were living and had improved. This the speculators proceeded to do, for one or two dollars an acre. As Crockett described it in his speech to the legislature in 1824,

> The speculators then pretending to be great friends to the people in saving their land, had gone up one side of the creek and down another, like a *coon,* and pretended to grant the poor people great favors in securing them occupant claims—they gave them a credit of a year and promised to take cows, horses, &c., in payment. But when the year came around, the notes were in the hands of others; the people were sued, cows and horses not being sufficient to pay for securing it. He said again, that warrants obtained in this way, by the removal of entries for the purpose of speculation, should be as counterfeit bank notes in the hands of the person who obtained them, and die on their hands.

Although the Crockett viewpoint was endorsed by a joint select committee headed by the future governor A. V. Brown, the speculators won the right to continue that shady practice; but their majority was reduced to a margin of two votes.[65]

Land claims of the University of North Carolina came up again for consideration during the 1824 session. The University had obtained a court order allowing the claims the legislature had rejected in 1823. Crockett joined Polk and a few other members of the house in an unsuccessful attempt to have that "illegal" proceeding investigated. The University also presented claims for an additional 100,000 acres, offering to divide them, as had been done in 1822 with the earlier

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[65]Shackford, *David Crockett,* 71-72, quoting *National Banner and Nashville Whig,* Sept. 27, 1824; *House Journal,* 1824, pp. 98-101, 190-91, 199; *Acts,* 1824, p. 15.

warrants, with the two Tennessee colleges. Polk and Crockett and the anti-University forces again succeeded in preventing the acceptance of the University's claims, even after it offered to divide its share with the Tennessee common school fund. This victory was temporary, however, for the next legislature, of which neither Polk nor Crockett was a member, accepted the original proposition as presented in 1824, including the division of the lands with the Tennessee colleges but not the common schools.[66]

With the adjournment of the special session, Crockett's career as a state legislator came to an end, but he was soon to embark upon an even more significant career as a member of Congress which is to be considered in a sequel to this study.

Crockett's role as a legislator in the Tennessee assembly is worthy of commendation. He consistently spoke and acted in behalf of the economic, educational, and social progress of his constituency, both in public and private matters, and he won the admiration of his colleagues by his moral courage and patriotism. He was handicapped by the lack of formal education, but he was quick to learn and he acquired on his own initiative much essential knowledge. And as a politician he was able to capitalize on his lack of schooling in the development of his appeal as a representative of the lower class and of the frontier. He was also able to build on his War of 1812 record, his experience in the state militia and in various capacities in county government. His genial disposition, his quick wit, his fund of humorous anecdotes, and his ability as a teller of tall tales made him hard to beat as a stump speaker and contributed to the development of the legendary "Davy" which is so difficult to separate from the real man. Actually, he probably was a man of ordinary height instead of the legendary "six feet four" and his alleged ability to "grin down" a bear was a figment of imagination. Although he was somewhat eccentric in manner, and although he undoubtedly wore a "coon-skin cap" and rough hunting clothes while engaged in replenishing his food supply at home, it is almost certain that as a member of the legislature he adopted a form of attire as nearly as possible like that of his fellow legislators, although not as elegant as that of the more well-to-do.[67] He was also a party man and

[66] *House Journal*, 1824, pp. 41-43, 92-93, 182; *Acts*, 1825, pp. 37-43; Sellers, "Polk's Political Apprenticeship," *loc. cit.*, 45-46.

[67] Shackford, *David Crockett*, 282-84.

was inclined to follow the leadership of others who were better acquainted with the issues involved; but in certain matters where he had the knowledge as a result of personal experience, particularly in regard to land questions, he was in a position to exercise leadership, and he defended with stubborn pertinacity his own point of view. It was this spirit of independence, sometimes asserted to the point of recklessness, which was to bring him into conflict with powerful political forces and in the long run was to result in his political undoing. But in the meantime he acquired a reputation for moral courage and audacity which aided him in achieving a remarkable degree of political success.

ANDREW JACKSON AND TEXAS AFFAIRS, 1820-1845

By SARAH BROWN MCNIELL

When Andrew Jackson took over the reins of government in 1829 several foreign problems confronted him. One of these was a definite settlement of the boundary between the United States and Mexico along the Texas frontier. For some time after the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819 had set the line at the Sabine River, the problem of boundary readjustment had been left to unsuccessful commissions.

After five months in office Jackson, at the prompting of Anthony Butler, military attaché of the American legation in Mexico City, began to make definite moves in the direction of Texas.[1] Joel R. Poinsett, minister to Mexico, was instructed to reopen discussions with Mexico concerning the sale of Texas in August, 1829. A maximum of five million dollars was set for use in the purchase; four lines were suggested, the money offer to decrease proportionately with the territory to be gained. As reasons for wanting Texas the President pointed out the need for more western land on which to relocate Indians, the need for guarding the western frontier, and the need for better protection of the port of New Orleans and all Mississippi River navigation.[2]

Included in Poinsett's instructions were several suggested arguments to be used to obtain the cession of Texas. Questions could be raised concerning the Sabine boundary—which of two streams really was the Sabine? Wouldn't the difficulty of establishing customs houses on such an insignificant stream encourage smuggling? Texas was depicted as an economic and military burden to Mexico, a confused area with explosive tendencies. The prevalence of non-Spanish settlers and the threats of the Comanche Indians in the territory were pointed to as further handicaps to Mexican rule. The United States suggested a boundary running from the Gulf on the east to the mountains on the west along a line drawn through the center of the Grand Prairie between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande.[3]

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[1]George L. Rives, *The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848,* 2 vols. (New York, 1913), I, 235.

[2]Eugene C. Barker, "President Jackson and the Texas Revolution," *American Historical Review* (New York), XII (1907), 789-90, citing MSS. Department of State, Special Missions, I, 34-50.

[3]William R. Manning, *Early Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Mexico* (Baltimore, 1916), 338-40.

Not only did Mexico refuse to negotiate the sale, but, offended by Poinsett's implications that she could not rule her own house, demanded the recall of the American minister in October, 1829. Jackson was increasingly anxious to buy Texas because he feared imminent revolt there and wished the United States to be free from accusation of instigation. Anthony Butler was chosen to replace Poinsett. By this time Mexican public opinion had become averse to sale of any Mexican soil, and Butler could accomplish nothing.[4]

The purchase attempts had aroused apprehension concerning American intentions, and in 1830 Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs Luis Alamán convinced the Mexican Congress of the need for immediate action. Entrance to Mexico from the north was denied except by passport; slaves were not to be introduced into the Texas area; further foreign (American, really) colonization in frontier regions was prohibited; and land grants were reappropriated where conditions had not been fulfilled. Military outposts were established and Mexico began tightening civil control in Texas.[5] Undoubtedly, Mexican action came too late to serve any purpose other than to antagonize the already discontented Texans.

Anthony Butler, although unsuccessful in his initial attempts in 1829 to negotiate with Mexico, remained at his post. President Jackson was still hopeful that a satisfactory arrangement could be made for the purchase. In 1831 he urged Butler to press for settlement, warning that

> There is reason to fear that a project is already on foot by adventurers from the United States, acting in concert with disaffected citizens of Mexico, to take possession of Texas and declare it an independent republic; . . . .

"Old Hickory" concluded his message with the somber note that

> A revolt in Texas may close the door forever to its advantageous settlement, and may eventuate not merely in the loss of that Province to Mexico with much blood and treasure, but break up the friendly understanding which is now established between this Government and hers. . . .[6]

Again, in 1832, Jackson wrote to Butler with apprehension concerning the Texas negotiations. He expressed fears of an insurrection in the Mexican province within six months. If such an uprising should

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[4]Barker, "Jackson and Texas," *loc. cit.*, 791-92.

[5]Justin H. Smith, *The Annexation of Texas* (New York, 1911), 9-10.

[6]Jackson to Butler, February 15, 1931, John Spencer Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* 6 vols. and index (Washington, D.C., 1926-1935), IV, 243-45.

occur, the American President knew that Mexico would be suspicious of American neutrality, and he knew also that he would have little power to prevent Americans from "emigrating," rifle in hand, to the disturbed area. Jackson took a dim view of an independent Texas, foreseeing such a small state as a perpetual problem. For these very sound reasons the President reiterated his desire for quick purchase.[7]

Anthony Butler's only hope was that money—the five million previously specified—would be persuasive. In late 1832 the Bustamante government in Mexico fell and for the first four months of 1833 General Gómez Pedraza, a known opponent of boundary change, ruled. Butler, staying on until General Santa Anna replaced Pedraza in April, 1833, busied himself trying to bribe Pedraza's Foreign Minister Lucas Alamán and formulating a plan whereby the United States could grant bankrupt Mexico a loan of five million dollars, taking Texas as security. Butler argued that the United States would certainly get Texas through foreclosure, but the home government found no constitutional authority for such a plan.[8]

When Santa Anna assumed control of the Mexican government the American minister was still unable to negotiate because of Santa Anna's heavy schedule and frequent absences from the capital. The Mexican vice-president, Gómez Farias, was conservative and incorruptible. Butler resorted to trying to convince Jackson that the real Sabine —the one meant in 1819—was what Mexico called the Neches. His idea was that the United States could invade the "disputed" area between the Sabine and Neches, stirring Texas to revolt against Mexico. The reasoning behind this proposal was that Mexico, on pain of losing Texas anyway, would sell immediately to the northern neighbor. In a letter in October, 1833, Butler described this plan to his chief, but concluded:

> I will Negotiate or fight just as you think best. I am frank and speak to you in all the Confidence of an old and tried friend when I say that my preference is for the latter. We have abundant cause for quarrel and it would cost less by one half, aye two thirds to take, than to purchase the Territory.[9]

Jackson's reply to this scheme, if one were made, is unknown.[10] The

[7]Jackson to Butler, February 25, 1832, *ibid.*, 409-10.
[8]Barker, "Jackson and Texas," *loc. cit.*, 791-92.
[9]Butler to Jackson, October 2, 1833, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, V, 214-16.
[10]Barker, "Jackson and Texas," *loc. cit.*, 794.

President did write his minister later in that month saying:

> Provided you keep within your instruction and obtain the cession it is not for your consideration whether the government of Mexico applies the money to the *purchase of men or to pay their public debt.* It is not for you to enquire [*sic*] how they will apply the consideration for the cession which we shall pay—all we want is a good and unincumbered cession of Territory that will give us a good and permanent boundery [*sic*]. I pray you my dear sir, to close this negotiation soon—four years has [*sic*] nearly elapsed since it commenced and our boundery [*sic*] remains unadjusted. . . .[11]

In October, 1833, Butler discussed bribery with a Mexican official. He wrote his findings to the President who replied immediately censuring the diplomat for writing such a letter without coding it, for attempting bribery, and for misinterpreting his meaning of the use of "discretion" in expending the five million dollars. The mission was to settle the boundary question and Jackson emphasized that he wanted Texas "unencumbered" of Mexican claims, but not by foul means.[12] Butler, thinking that Jackson cared not concerning the disposition of the funds, felt undeserving of presidential censure, and in February and March of 1834 repeated his belief that the only ways of obtaining Texas were by bribery or by occupation of the Sabine-Neches region.[13] It was on the back of the March letter that Jackson wrote, "A. Butler: What a scamp!" and a further notation concerning his recall.[14]

Butler, however, was not recalled immediately and he spent the remainder of 1834 and the better part of 1835 in various negotiations in the Mexican capital. Frequently he wrote that he was on the verge of success. Again the Minister suggested bribery schemes, and repeatedly Jackson warned him away. By mid-1835 the man in the White House had little confidence in his representative to Mexico, but allowed him to remain because he so earnestly begged for an opportunity to complete his mission. In October, 1835, Butler was deemed *persona non grata* and Jackson, in compliance with the wishes of Mexico, recalled him and sent as a replacement Powhatan Ellis.[15]

As to Andrew Jackson's conduct of the attempt to purchase Texas, Eugene Barker, a noted Texas historian, is inclined to believe that the President tried to maintain the honor of the United States and was

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[11]Jackson to Butler, October 30, 1833, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* V, 221-22.
[12]Jackson to Butler, November 27, 1833, *ibid.,* 228-29.
[13]Butler to Jackson, February 6, 1834, *ibid.,* 244-46.
[14]Butler to Jackson, March 7, 1834, and Jackson's endorsement, *ibid.,* 249-53.
[15]Barker, "Jackson and Texas," *loc. cit.,* 796-97.

sincere in vetoing Butler's fraudulent schemes. He does find that Jackson made poor choices of agents, but believes this unintentional.[16]

Richard R. Stenberg, in reviewing the Jackson-Butler relationship, casts the President in the role of villain as he does in other studies concerning Jackson and controversial issues.[17] Working on the thesis that Jackson wanted Texas by means fair or foul, save at the expense of his own reputation, Stenberg maintains that Butler was not disclaimed for attempting bribery, but rather for letting his methods be recognized as such. This anti-Jackson writer credits the first censure of Butler for attempting bribery in 1833 to United States' knowledge that the new Mexican government was less approachable by such means than its predecessor. The rejection of the proposal of a loan to Mexico with a mortgage on Texas was made, not on the grounds of constitutionality, but because the United States had a prospect of getting Texas free if the Texas Revolution, predicted by Sam Houston in a letter to Jackson in February, 1833, came about.[18]

Stenberg interprets, as did Anthony Butler, the following sentence to mean that the President was authorizing bribery: " '. . . it is not for your consideration whether the Government of Mexico applies the money to the *purchase of men or to pay their public debt.*' "[19] Jackson's subsequent explanation, that he meant that the Mexican government could use the purchase money to reimburse Mexicans who would lose land grants in the sale, is deemed an afterthought designed to release him from any implication in shady dealing.[20]

The failure of the executive to recall the minister to Mexico is

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[16]*Ibid.*, 809.

[17]*Cf.* Richard R. Stenberg, "The Jefferson Birthday Dinner, 1830," *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, La.), IV (1938), 334-45; Stenberg, "Jackson's 'Rhea Letter' Hoax," *ibid.*, II (1936), 480-96; Stenberg, "Jackson's Neches Claim, 1829-1836," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (Austin, Tex.), XXXIX (1936), 255-74; Stenberg, "Andrew Jackson and the Erving Affidavit," *ibid.*, XLI (1938), 142-53; Stenberg, "Jackson, Buchanan, and the 'Corrupt Bargain' Calumny," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (Philadelphia), LVIII (1955), 61-85. These works are outgrowths of his doctoral dissertation, American Imperialism in the Southwest, 1800-1837 (University of Texas, 1932), cited in Llerena Friend, *Sam Houston: The Great Designer* (Austin, 1954).

[18]Richard R. Stenberg, "Jackson, Anthony Butler, and Texas," *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, XIII (1932-33), 273-74, 276. That letter, dated February 13, 1833, is in Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker (eds.), *The Writings of Sam Houston*, 8 vols. (Austin, 1936-1943), I, 274-76. Houston also claimed (though the editors say that evidence shows his suspicions to be unfounded) that Butler did not actually desire to see Texas acquired by the United States because he had personal land interests which would be better advanced by the retention of Texas by Mexico.

[19]Stenberg, "Jackson, Anthony Butler, and Texas," *loc. cit.*, 275, citing Jackson to Butler, October 30, 1833, in Butler MSS.; Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, V, 221-22.

[20]Stenberg, "Jackson, Anthony Butler, and Texas," *loc. cit.*, 282.

cited as evidence that Butler's final mission was made in the hope of success through bribery. The President's indictment of the method was written for "cover" if the mission failed or were found out. To Stenberg the administration's repudiation of Butler came, not because of presidential disapproval of his conduct of the mission, but because bribery in Mexico and intrigue in Texas were becoming increasingly in danger of exposé, because Secretary of State John Forsyth was a bitter enemy of the diplomat, and because the Mexican government's demand for recall had ended Butler's usefulness as a purchasing agent.[21]

George Rives, author of the first comprehensive account of United States and Mexican affairs during this period, substantiates the Barker view that Jackson was guilty of misjudgement but not of misdemeanor. He points out that the agent in Mexico City was noted for lying and gambling, and was prompted in many of his dealings by concern for his own land holdings near Nacogdoches in the Sabine-Neches area. By promising and cajoling, Butler retained his post, escaping dismissal near the end of his service only through his chief's extreme loyalty to old friends.[22]

John Spencer Bassett believes Jackson's memorandum, " 'Nothing will be countenanced by the Executive to bring the Government under the remotest imputation of being engaged in corruption or bribery . . .,' " to be a sincere expression of the President's feelings on the question in 1835.[23]

While most writers concur in the opinion that Andrew Jackson's conduct of the Texas purchase mission brought discredit to his administration and complication to Mexican-American relations, few, with the exception of Stenberg, would discredit the President by calling Anthony Butler's treachery Jackson's.

Historian Justin H. Smith, whose work on the Texas annexation was hailed when it appeared in 1911 as a controversy-settler, expresses what is still the prevailing opinion of biographers and of text[24] and monograph writers in the following passage:

> Undoubtedly Jackson desired to acquire Texas; but a wide gulf

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21 *Ibid.*, 284.

22 Rives, *U. S. and Mexico*, I, 236-37, 255-58.

23 John Spencer Bassett, *The Life of Andrew Jackson*, 2 vols. in one (New York, 1925), 676.

24 *Cf.* Samuel F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (New York, c1950), ch. XIII; Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York, c1950), ch. XVI.

> yawns between wishing to purchase an article and conspiring to steal it, and no good evidence has been unearthed in support of the highly improbably [*sic*] theory that he crossed the gulf. Moreover, he was not a coward or dissembler, and the language used by him at the time was perfectly clear.[25]

A second point of controversy concerning Andrew Jackson's part in Texas-American affairs is whether or not his dealings with Sam Houston and his foreknowledge of the Texas revolt connoted American instigation in that area. Sam Houston's sudden and mysterious departure from public life in Tennessee in April, 1829, immediately gave rise to numerous rumors concerning conspiracies. One tale told of a Houston scheme to invade Texas with a force of Cherokees with the aim of making himself emperor there.

Jackson apparently learned of these rumors very quickly, for Houston wrote to him on May 11:

> . . . I cannot brook the idea of your supposing me capable, of an act that would not adorn; rather than blot the escutheon [*sic*] of human nature! This remark is induced by the fact, as reported to me, that you have been assured that I meditated an enterprize calculated to injure, or involve my country, and to compromit [*sic*] the purity of my motives.

Jackson replied on June 21:

> It has been communicated to me that you had the illegal enterprise in view of conquering Texas; that you had declared you would, in less than two years, be *emperor* of that country, by conquest. I must have really thought you deranged to have believed you had such a wild scheme in contemplation; and particularly, when it was communicated that the physical force to be employed was the Cherokee Indians! Indeed my dear sir, I cannot believe you have any such chimerical, visionary scheme in view. Your pledge of honor to the contrary is a sufficient guarantee that you will never engage in any enterprise injurious to your country, or that would tarnish your fame.[26]

The source of Jackson's original information concerning the rumored "conspiracy" is unknown, but Miss Llerena Friend is inclined to think it was from letters received by his private secretary, Andrew Jackson Donelson, from his brother Daniel Donelson. Only one of these letters is known to exist, but that one, undated but marked "Received June 11, 1829," indicates that the brothers Donelson had

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[25]Smith, *Annexation,* 26.

[26]Williams and Barker (eds.), *Writings of Sam Houston,* I, 132; Friend, *Sam Houston,* 50, quoting Henderson Yoakum, *History of Texas,* I, 307. Marquis James says that Jackson extracted from Houston a "pledge of honor" to respect Mexican sovereignty. *The Life of Andrew Jackson,* 2 vols. in one (Garden City, N.Y., c1938), 702. See also Alfred M. Williams, *Sam Houston and the War of Independence in Texas* (Boston, c1893), 41.

been corresponding about Houston ever since his separation from his wife. The close relationship existing between Jackson and his secretary makes it practically certain that the President was aware of the contents of these letters. In the one received on June 11 Daniel wrote his brother that he did not believe the physicians' reports pronouncing Houston "deranged upon the subject of jealousy— . . ." He continued,

> . . . I lead to this unbelief in consequence of frequent conversations which he had with me upon a certain subject soon after he was married, say three weeks. I mean the revolution of Texas. . . . Some time in March he informed me that Wharton [his agent] had gone, clothed with full powers from him, such as preparing the minds of the leading men in that country for such an undertaking, and when everything was properly arranged he was to be notified of the fact. That done, he would immediately leave the U. States in order to enter upon the duties of what he called his grand scheme— . . .

Daniel tried unsuccessfully to dissuade him from his plan, considered him a *"scoundrel,"* and believed that he had "married Miss Allen to leave her, in order to have a justification for his leaving the U. States."[27]

If there were any truth in Donelson's conjecture, according to Friend, the Texas idea must have been the result of Houston's tortured mind resulting from his unhappiness in marriage, rather than the reverse. She also expresses no doubt of Jackson's sincerity in accepting Houston's disavowal. But Richard Stenberg, again on the opposite side of the fence, points out that Jackson in his letter of June 21 did not actually tell Houston to discontinue any revolutionary activity in which he might be engaged. Also, he refers to a memorandum which Jackson claimed in 1838 to have found in his "Executive Book" under the date of May 21, 1829, about information received from General Duff Green that Houston was planning to conquer Mexico or Texas and that, although he viewed Houston's plans as "mere effusions of a distempered brain, he had directed Secretary of War John Eaton to write to the governor of Arkansas Territory instructing him to investigate and to put down any activity of that nature. Since Stenberg could find no evidence that Eaton had ever sent such instructions to the Arkansas governor, he concludes that Jackson's notation was a deliberate attempt to conceal a prearranged plot.[28]

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[27]This letter is printed in Stanley F. Horn (ed.), "Holdings of the Tennessee Historical Society: An Unpublished Photograph of Sam Houston," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Nashville), III (1944-45), 349-51.

[28]Friend, *Sam Houston,* 51; Richard R. Stenberg, "The Texas Schemes of Jackson and Houston," *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly,* XV (1934-35), 230-31, citing "Executive Book" in Jackson Papers (Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress).

Houston's visits to Washington and return trips to Texas in 1830 and again in 1832-33, this time as an Indian commissioner appointed by Jackson, have also been branded "suspicious." Finally, in 1837-38, a storm of accusation of collusion between Old Hickory and The Raven broke over the revelation of the Mayo and Fulton letters. On December 2, 1830, Dr. Robert Mayo had written Jackson about an attempt being organized by Sam Houston to recruit an army in the United States for the purpose of conquering Texas. This information, gleaned from The Raven himself in February and later from a Mr. Hunter, an ex-West Point cadet who represented himself as a recruiting officer for the Texas campaign, had been previously transmitted by Mayo to President Jackson in a personal interview in November of that year. Late in 1836 Jackson, preparing to leave the White House, returned Mayo's letter enclosing by mistake a copy of a letter written in 1830 to William Fulton, secretary of the Arkansas Territory. The President's letter to Fulton repeated the Mayo account of Houston's activities, expressed the opinion that the information was erroneous, but asked that the Arkansas official keep an eye open for any evidences of war-making in the southwestern area. Mayo, who had earlier been disappointed at the President's seeming lack of action, pounced on the Fulton letter as evidence that Jackson had believed the threatened conspiracy, but had done nothing effective about it.[29]

John Quincy Adams, by then a member of the House of Representatives, took up the cry and charged first that the letter had never been mailed to Fulton, and second that it had been mailed to the secretary rather than to the governor of the Arkansas Territory because Fulton could be counted on to go along with the Jackson-Houston schemes. The Adams' case was based on weak evidence, for the original Jackson-Fulton letter was found in 1839. General agreement was reached by most contemporaries and later historians that the action of the two officials was sufficient in light of the nature of the threat.[30]

Richard Stenberg charges that historians have "exculpated Jackson, abandoned Houston to his own weak devices, and left the Texas Revolution to take a natural course." Concerning the Mayo

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[29]Barker, "Jackson and Texas," *loc. cit.*, 798-99, citing Robert Mayo, *Political Sketches of Eight Years in Washington* (Baltimore, 1839), 117-29. Jackson claimed that Mayo purloined the letter. Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, IV, 213-14.

[30]Barker, "Jackson and Texas," *loc. cit.*, 800-02; Stenberg, "Jackson and Houston," *loc. cit.*, 236.

letter incident, this historian believes that the copy of Jackson's letter to Fulton acquired by Mayo, since it included erasures and insertions, actually was the original, which Jackson decided not to send; that a copy was finally sent to Fulton in 1833; and that all other official correspondence on the matter was destroyed to avoid charges of procrastination. As evidence Stenberg calls attention to the incorrect addresses for Fulton noted on the back of the Mayo "copy" which he claims Jackson put there to provide a possible explanation for Fulton's failure to receive the communication. Also, after the Mayo revelation in 1837-38, Fulton "remembered" that he had received Jackson's letter early in 1831 and had reported that he could find no warlike activities; yet no such report has ever been found in any Jackson or governmental files. Finally, Jackson also "remembered" in 1838 that Fulton's reports of 1831 "went to shew [*sic*] that the rumors were all groundless, and that Genl Houston had settled in Texas and was practising [*sic*] law there as a livelyhood [*sic*]"; but Houston did not actually settle in Texas until 1833.[31]

Long before Stenberg put together this circumstantial evidence, a few writers had expressed their suspicions. An early Jackson biographer, James Parton, while not as vindictive as Stenberg, is inclined to question the President's conduct of the matter in late 1830. Parton draws no conclusions, but carefully points out the friendship between Jackson and Houston, the confusion surrounding the Mayo and Fulton letters, and Houston's ultimate role in the Texas Revolution. Augustus Buell actually implies that Houston was sent by Jackson to lead revolutionary forces.[32] On the other hand, the acknowledged expert on Texas annexation, Justin H. Smith, concludes: "Only gross partisanship can find proof in this mere collection of circumstances and guesses that the President of the United States was a hypocrite, a liar, and virtually an oath-breaker." And the recent Jackson biographers, Bassett and James, find in the letter incident no evidence of duplicity and believe that Old Hickory was sincere in wanting to remain neutral. Also the major post-Stenberg writer, Llerena Friend, in a later doctoral dissertation at the University of Texas, comes to a similar conclusion, emphasizing the fact that Jackson actually did write to Minister Butler, February 15,

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[31] *Ibid.*, 229-37.

[32] James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 3 vols. (New York, 1861), III, 654-56; Augustus C. Buell, *History of Andrew Jackson*, 2 vols. (New York, 1904), II, 351-52.

1831, instructing him to tell the Mexican authorities that the United States government would take every possible step to thwart any anti-Mexican plot.[33]

In 1833 Sam Houston made another journey from Washington to Texas, this time with a government commission to hold Indian conferences in the area. Marquis James dispenses with charges of subterfuge here by pointing out that Houston's reports of the parleys were so worthless that the Secretary of War refused to pay his expense account, and by noting that Jackson quickly disavowed Houston when the latter became involved with American land speculators who were revolution-bent.[34]

Mexico, however, was alarmed by Houston's presence, and on October 30, 1833, President Jackson wrote the following letter to his minister, Anthony Butler:

> . . . I regret to hear of the slanders of Yturbide and Tornel which have no foundation either in the acts or views of myself, or any part of the Government. The statement made of my intimacy with Houston is not true. The very opposite would have been nearer the fact, for we have had, ever since the intimation of his being regarded as unfriendly to the existing government of Mexico, a secrete [*sic*] agent watching his movements and prepared to thwart any attempt to organize within the United States a military force to aid in the revolution of Texas.[35]

Secretary of State Edward Livingston's communications to Anthony Butler in 1833 have been cited also as evidence that the United States knew more of the approaching revolution than mere spectatorship would explain. Particularly pointed out were the following instructions: " 'The situation in the State of Texas y [and] Coahuila make it important that your negotiations on that subject should be brought to a speedy conclusion. It is at least doubtful whether in a few weeks any *stipulation could* be carried into effect.' "[36]

Studying this official statement in the light of the charge of American instigation, Justin Smith finds no basis of support. Smith, Barker, and Rives all indicate that intelligent diplomacy would require the United States to know and understand conditions in neighboring countries; that information could have come from the many Americans in

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[33]Marquis James, *The Raven: A Biography of Sam Houston* (New York, c1929), 180; Bassett, *Life of Jackson*, 677-78; Smith, *Annexation*, 25-26; Friend, *Sam Houston*, 54, citing Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, IV, 243-45.

[34]James, *The Raven*, 192-93; James, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 703.

[35]Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, V, 221-22.

[36]Barker, "Jackson and Texas," *loc. cit.*, 793, citing MSS. Department of State, Instructions to Agents to Mexico, XIV, 292.

Texas—particularly to President Jackson from his friend Sam Houston; and that Livingston's prophecy was not totally correct in that Texas did not immediately declare independence. Miss Friend adds the comment: "Had Houston's Texas schemes gone so far as Mayo declared and Mexico feared, surely there would have been knowledge of recruiting officers. No volunteers were found on the border."[37]

Stenberg justifies his speculation that Jackson did not send his December, 1830, letter to Fulton until 1833 by claiming that by that time he had become alarmed at Mexican repercussions and belatedly decided to take a stand against Houston. But, looking back over the President's attempts to maintain neutrality after the Texan Revolution began, Smith concludes, "To suppose that he [Jackson] sacrificed his honor to incite a revolution yet was too honorable or too cowardly to aid it at the critical moment is hardly possible."[38]

It is known that after attending the Texas Convention of April, 1833, in which a constitution was drawn up providing for Texas statehood within the Mexican confederation, Sam Houston did not reappear in public life until after the Revolution was under way. Barker finds no evidence that Houston was active in instigating the revolt and concludes that his experience in political and military leadership, rather than previous revolutionary sympathy, led to his selection as a leader during the war. This view is corroborated by Bassett, James, Smith, and Friend, and even Stenberg admits that the Texas Revolution would have occurred with or without Sam Houston.[39]

The third debatable matter for discussion is United States neutrality. With the outbreak of hostilities in Texas in 1835 the problem of maintaining neutrality became more complicated for the administration. That Jackson was aware of the situation and attempted to remedy it is exemplified by his official writings on at least four separate occasions.

In a message to Congress in December, 1835, Jackson said:

Recent events in that country [Mexico] have awakened the liveliest

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[37]Smith, *Annexation,* 22n; Barker, "Jackson and Texas," *loc. cit.,* 793; Rives, *U. S. and Mexico,* I, 239; Friend, *Sam Houston,* 55; Friend admits however, that Jackson's denial in his 1833 letter to Butler of intimacy with Houston was "a little extreme, but perhaps it was all in the name of diplomacy." *Ibid.,* 55n.

[38]Stenberg, "Jackson and Houston," *loc. cit.,* 238-39; Smith, *Annexation,* 27.

[39]Barker, "Jackson and Texas," *loc. cit.,* 802-03; Bassett, *Life of Jackson,* 277; James, *The Raven,* 189-208; Smith, *Annexation,* 28; Friend, *Sam Houston,* 55-61; Stenberg, "Jackson and Houston," *loc. cit.,* 245.

> solicitude in the United States. Aware of the strong temptations existing and powerful inducements held out to the citizens of the United States to mingle in the dissensions of our immediate neighbors, instructions have been given to the district attorneys of the United States where indications warranted it to prosecute without respect to persons all who might attempt to violate the obligations of our neutrality. . . .[40]

Again, in April, 1836, the President stressed the neutral position of the United States government. On the back of a letter written by Stephen Austin asking for a loan to Texas from the treasury surplus, Jackson wrote:

> The writer did not reflect that we have a treaty with Mexico, and our national faith is pledged to support it. The Texans before they took the step to declare themselves Independent which has aroused all Mexico against them ought to have pondered well—it was a rash and premature act, our neutrality must be faithfully maintained.[41]

In July, also of 1836, Santa Anna, captured leader of the Mexican forces, wrote from a Columbia, Texas, prison asking Jackson to intervene on his behalf so that he might return to Mexico, stop the army which was threatening to re-invade Texas, and thereby bring peace. Jackson's reply issued in September, 1836, lauded Santa Anna's desire for peace, but reminded him that Mexico no longer recognized any official capacities of the prisoner. The American chief executive also pointed out that any intervention by the United States without an invitation to mediate from the government of Mexico would be inconsistent with established policy.[42]

The most serious charge of neutrality violation directed against the United States came late in 1836 when General Edmund P. Gaines led an expedition into Nacogdoches in the disputed Sabine-Neches region to put down Indian uprisings. The General's orders allowed him to pursue Mexican-incited Indian raiders into Mexican territory, if necessary, and Gaines was inclined to be credulous and hasty. A Gaines-issued requisition for troops to Governor Newton Cannon of Tennessee was countermanded by President Jackson who reminded the Governor that

> The obligations of our treaty with Mexico, as well as the general

[40]Andrew Jackson, Seventh Annual Message, December 7, 1835, James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1902*, 10 vols. (n.p., 1903), III, 151.

[41]Barker, "Jackson and Texas," *loc. cit.*, 805, citing Jackson MSS. A copy of the letter without the endorsement can be found in the Austin Papers.

[42]Santa Anna to Jackson, July 4, 1836; Jackson to Santa Anna, September 4, 1836, Richardson, *Messages*, III, 274-76.

> principles which govern our intercourse with foreign powers, require us to maintain a strict neutrality in the contest which now agitates a part of that republic.
>
> Should Mexico insult our national flag, invade our territory, or interrupt our citizens in the lawful pursuits which are guaranteed to them by the treaty, then the government will promptly repel the insult, and take speedy reparation for the injury. But it does not seem that offences of this character have been committed by Mexico, or were believed to have been by General Gaines.[43]

In September, 1836, the President wrote directly to his border general reminding him of the obligations of neutrality. Jackson stressed that only Indian uprisings were to be dealt with on Mexican soil and further warned: "You must be careful not to be deceived by the evidence on which you act."[44]

Writers Barker, Rives, Bassett, and Friend have no censure for Jackson in the action of Gaines. Concerning the invasion of the Sabine-Neches region and the occupation of Nacogdoches, Barker says, "The strict letter of his instructions gave General Gaines authority for this movement, but their spirit enjoined a greater degree of critical judgment than he was capable of exercising."[45] This attitude by no means clears Jackson of responsibility for the incident, but it does show his error to be faulty judgment rather than overt war action.

Stenberg believes that Sam Houston planned to retreat to the Neches-Sabine area and thereby bring Mexico and the United States into war. Following this line of reasoning he considers the Gaines move a Jacksonian plot to aid the retreating Houston just prior to the battle of San Jacinto. Stenberg says: "The story of Jackson's having placed his finger on the map at San Jacinto saying that Houston would stop and fight the Mexicans there 'if he were worth a baubee' is plainly apocryphal."[46] But Buell in his history of Jackson cites a letter from the President to Houston, congratulating Houston on the San Jacinto victory and saying:

> From what I could make out by an insufficient map I have and what information I could get of *the enemy's movements,* I was sure you would stand and fight on the west side of Galveston Bay, and probably just where you did, or on Buffalo Bayou. I expected *you*

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[43]Jackson to Cannon, August 6, 1836, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* V, 417-18.

[44]Jackson to Gaines, September 4, 1836, *ibid.,* 423-24.

[45]Eugene C. Barker, "The United States and Mexico, 1835-1837," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids, Ia.), I (1914-15), 20.

[46]Stenberg, "Jackson and Houston," *loc. cit.,* 247n, 248-50.

> *would repulse the enemy,* but I confess my astonishment that you should have ended the whole war in one battle.[47]

Buell does mention, however, that this congratulatory letter surprisingly enough took the form of a commander's address to a subordinate who had conducted a campaign well, and he underscores Jackson's references to the Mexican troops as "the enemy." Buell also notes that American officers who went to aid Houston in Texas were not ordered back to their posts until after San Jacinto, despite Mexican diplomatic corps protests.[48] That Houston attributed his successes at the battle of San Jacinto to his recollection of Jackson's battle plans in the Creek campaigns can hardly be held against Old Hickory.[49]

In his final annual message to Congress in December, 1836, the President explained that a policy of neutrality had been pursued as professed despite American public feeling for Texas. He cited this as a good example of not allowing public policy to be dominated by prejudice or partiality. His greatest lament was that Texas' desire for annexation to the United States was being misconstrued as American aggrandizement.[50]

That neutrality violation occurred is unquestionable, but most historians credit it to public opinion, inefficiencies of the democratic system, and the weakness of the Neutrality Act of 1818, rather than to executive neglect. Some pro-Texas movements such as "filibustering expeditions," the solicitation of funds, and "emigration" with the "emigrants" toting guns instead of ploughshares, did not come under the neutrality act. But even so, the inadequacies of the law do not excuse a nation from international obligations.[51]

Although historians will probably never agree as to the uprightness of the United States government in its attitude toward the Texas-Mexican question, some general conclusions can be drawn. The majority opinion of historians studied is that Andrew Jackson tried to maintain the honor and neutrality of the United States, that he did

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[47]Buell, *History of Andrew Jackson,* II, 352-53, citing Major's *War for Texan Independence,* II, 23.

[48]Buell, *History of Andrew Jackson,* II, 350-52.

[49]Andrew J. Donelson to Jackson, December 28, 1844, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* VI, 349-50.

[50]Andrew Jackson, Eighth Annual Message, December 5, 1836, Richardson, *Messages,* III, 237-38.

[51]Barker, "Jackson and Texas," *loc. cit.,* 804-05; Bemis, *Diplomatic History,* 222-24; Bailey, *Diplomatic History,* 252.

make poor choices of agents and military leaders, but not intentionally, and that he was guilty of no complicity with Sam Houston. True, much of the evidence is based on Jackson's own word, but that word is generally believed to be reliable.

There is certainly cause for regret in the handling of the situation. The discreditable purchase attempt and the faulty neutrality law made Mexico rightly fearful and suspicious of United States intentions—a situation which was to complicate gravely future Mexican-American relations. At the time, however, Jackson's diplomacy was considered satisfactory in both Europe and the United States.[52]

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[52]Bassett, *Life of Jackson,* 683; Barker, "U. S. and Mexico," *loc. cit.,* 30; Rives, *U. S. and Mexico,* I, 261.

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF LANDON CARTER HAYNES

By James W. Bellamy

Landon Carter Haynes, a Tennessee senator in the Confederate Congress during the War Between the States, was born near Elizabethton, Tennessee, on December 2, 1816. He was descended from a family which first appeared in the Watauga section of upper East Tennessee at the close of the Revolutionary War. His paternal grandfather, George Haynes, born in 1757 in Westmoreland County in eastern Virginia, was of German descent, the family name originally being spelled "Heine." The spelling of this surname varied after the family migrated to America. Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina was from the same family. George Haynes was a farmer who became a soldier during the Revolution. After the closing battles of that war in the Carolinas, he started on foot across the mountains to his home in Winchester, Virginia. His homeward journey was interrupted in the Tennessee country when he stopped for a drink of water at a spring where, according to tradition, he fortuitously met a beautiful young maiden. He remained in that immediate region and married his young love, Margaret McInturff, the daughter of Christopher McInturff of what is now Carter County, Tennessee.[1]

Twelve children were born to George and Margaret Haynes. David Haynes, who was to become the father of Landon, was born in 1790. He became a very successful businessman through his land speculations and was one of the largest landowners in Washington and Carter counties. Among the many old established farms which he acquired was the John Tipton farm, one of the landmarks of the Revolutionary period. David was married twice. First, in 1811, he married Lavinia Williams; later, after his first wife's death, he married Rhoda Taylor, the daughter of a Virginian of Irish descent, Matthew Taylor. Rhoda, born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, in 1796, came as a young girl to Carter County to live with her uncle, General Nathaniel

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[1]John Allison (ed.), *Notable Men of Tennessee,* 2 vols. (Atlanta, 1905), II, 326-27; David W. Carter, *Notable Southern Families: Carter of Tennessee* (Chattanooga, 1927), 27; William S. Speer, *Sketches of Prominent Tennesseans* (Nashville, 1888), 212-13.

Taylor.[2] David Haynes and Rhoda Taylor became the parents of twelve children, of whom Landon Carter was the first.[3]

Landon Carter Haynes was named in honor of General Landon Carter, the same man for whom Carter County was named. General Landon Carter, the son of Colonel John Carter, who was the chairman of the Watauga court, was the secretary of the convention, presided over by John Sevier, that met on August 23, 1784, at Jonesboro, to organize the government for the state of Franklin. The next year, Landon Carter served as the speaker of the senate when the first legislative assembly convened at Jonesboro.[4]

Haynes' initials, L. C., became very appropriate for slandering nicknames applied by his political enemies. For instance, "Parson" William G. Brownlow, a personal and political opponent of Haynes, referred to him as "Liar Culprit (Landon Carter) Haynes" in his Jonesboro *Whig* on January 1, 1845. On another occasion, a critic referred to him as "Landon Corn Haynes" in the Knoxville *Whig* on February 22, 1865.[5]

Landon began his formal education at Anderson School, located at the head of Buffalo Creek in Carter County, the site of the present Cave Spring School. Landon took his education seriously and was a very brilliant student. He particularly enjoyed the Friday afternoon sessions when the schoolmaster conducted the weekly recitation. Here, Landon first experienced the thrill of standing before an audience and delivering a speech. As a boy, he did not limit his public speaking to the classroom but practiced on anyone who would listen to his boyish addresses. Tradition says that from the time he was ten years old until he left home to go to college, it was his custom to gather around him the laborers and slaves on the farm and hold them spellbound for hours and hours with his orations. This was his first training as a "stump speaker."[6]

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[2]*Ibid.*, 212-13, 564-65; Robert T. Nave, Elizabethton, Tennessee, to the writer, July 17, 1951.

[3]Speer, *Prominent Tennesseans*, 213. The others were named George, Matthew, David, James, Napoleon, Nathaniel, Mary, Lavinia, Emily, Emeline, and Margaret.

[4]Samuel C. Williams, *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (Johnson City, 1924), 57.

[5]*Whig* (microfilm, McClung Room, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville). This newspaper was published at Elizabethton from 1839 until April, 1840. It was published at Jonesboro from May, 1840, until April, 1849, and at Knoxville from May, 1849, until 1861, when its Unionist editor, "Parson" Brownlow, suspended publication and fled from the city, fearing arrest by Confederate authorities.

[6]Frank Merritt, *Early History of Carter County: 1760-1861* (Knoxville, 1950), 199; The Reverend Mr. James L. Mullins' Scrapbook (at his home in LaFollette, Tennessee).

When he was about twenty years old, he enrolled at Washington College, the school which Samuel Doak had founded in 1780. During his college days, Landon distinguished himself as an able debater and refined rhetorician. He was graduated in 1838.[7]

The year after his graduation, Landon began reading law in the office of Thomas A. R. Nelson, who was serving as state's attorney in the First Congressional District, the position he held from 1833 to 1844. During the spring of 1840 Nelson moved from Elizabethton to Jonesboro, Tennessee. This transfer by Nelson caused Haynes to become a future political son of Washington County instead of Carter County because he followed Nelson to Jonesboro and continued studying law, being admitted to the bar in 1840.[8]

While studying law Haynes divided his time between Elizabethton and Jonesboro. He was interested in a certain young lady in Elizabethton, Eleanor Powel, whom he married during this time.[9] In 1840 David Haynes gave Landon and his bride the John Tipton farm. Landon remodeled the old log house that had been erected in 1784 by weatherboarding the exterior and adding another room. One and one-half miles west of his farm was a small village which later became the largest and most enterprising town in Washington County. With the completion of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, this town grew rapidly and was known as Johnson's Depot. During the War Between the States Johnson's Depot was called "Haynesville" in honor of Landon C. Haynes, who was serving in the Confederate Congress. After the war it resumed its old name and in 1869 it was incorporated as Johnson City. In 1865 Haynes sold his farm to his brother-

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[7]James W. Doak, George W. Duffield, William J. Daniels, and James M. Cowman were graduated with Haynes in 1838. Howard E. Carr, *Washington College* (Knoxville, 1935), 173-74. There is some contradiction regarding the date of Landon's graduation from college. Joshua W. Caldwell, *Sketches of the Bench and Bar in Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1898), 330, states that he was graduated with first honors in his class at the age of twenty, in other words in 1836; but Carr and the records at Washington College indicate that Landon graduated in 1838, and that there were no graduates in 1836 or 1837.

[8]Caldwell, *Bench and Bar,* 282, 330; *Whig,* June 24, 1840.

[9]Personal interview with Mr. Dave Simmerly, greatnephew of Landon C. Haynes, Tipton-Haynes home, Johnson City, Tennessee, May 31, 1951; Letter from Mr. Robert T. Nave. A search of the original bonds and licenses of Carter and Washington counties did not reveal the marriage license of Landon C. Haynes and Eleanor Powel. It is possible that they were licensed in Sullivan County. All records in that county were destroyed during the War Between the States when the courthouse was burned. Eleanor was the daughter of Robert W. Powel and the granddaughter of Doctor Joseph Powel. The Powels were originally from Sullivan County, but Doctor Powel, a very wealthy man, practiced medicine in Carter County shortly before his death in 1839. Robert W. Powel was very prominent in state politics until he moved to New Orleans, where he died about 1855.

in-law, Lawson Gifford, who owned the adjoining farm. Gifford's daughter, Mrs. Samuel Simmerly, inherited it. She left it to her son, Mr. Dave Simmerly, who is now (1956) living in the house and cultivating the farm. This estate has been in the Haynes family for more than one hundred years. Recently, the Tennessee Historical Commission bought the entire estate including the farm, house, Landon's law office, which is standing in the front yard, and the spring. Mr. Simmerly will continue to live there until his death, after which the Commission plans to preserve all the property as a memorial in honor of John Tipton and Landon C. Haynes.[10]

Haynes' first employment was in the field of journalism. Soon after he was admitted to the bar in 1840, he accepted the editorship of the *Tennessee Sentinel* at Jonesboro, Tennessee. This newspaper had been established in 1835 to support Martin Van Buren in his presidential election the next year. The organizers of this newspaper were Thomas Anderson as editor and Lawson Gifford, Haynes' future brother-in-law, as publisher. At the time of Anderson's retirement in 1840, Gifford employed Haynes as editor. As the man behind the publication, Haynes successfully edited the *Tennessee Sentinel* for the next five or six years of its existence.[11]

The most notable feature of his career as an editor was his notorious feud with William G. Brownlow. Their private war had already been fought with words and bullets before Haynes became the editor of the *Tennessee Sentinel.* Although the direct cause of their hostility has never been revealed, their controversy began soon after Haynes graduated from Washington College and returned to Elizabethton. During this time "Parson" Brownlow had finished his circuit-riding appointments in the Methodist Church and had located at Elizabethton where he started his *Whig,* a weekly newspaper. Soon

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[10]Interview with Mr. Simmerly; Samuel C. Williams, *Dawn of the Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History* (Johnson City, 1937), 57. The Tipton-Haynes home is located approximately one and one-half miles east of Johnson City, Tennessee, on United States Highway 23, and it is one of the most historic sites in the state. It has been a landmark in American history since 1673, when the first-known English-speaking men to enter the Tennessee country, James Needham and Gabriel Arthur, traveled across it on a visit to the Indians. No doubt, they drank from the spring. That Daniel Boone, a "long hunter," probably traversed this land about one hundred years later is indicated by the fact that a few miles from this site there stood until about three decades ago the tree with the famous inscription saying that Boone had killed a bear there in 1760. Since 1783 the families of Tipton and Haynes have owned this land, and John Tipton and his wife are buried there.

[11]Paul M. Fink, "The Early Press of Jonesboro," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 10 (1938), 65-67.

after Haynes' return and Brownlow's move to Elizabethton, they realized that it was impossible for them to agree on any issue because of their conflicting opinions on politics and religion.[12]

On the night of March 2, 1840, an unknown assassin fired two shots past Brownlow's head while he was seated at a table writing by candlelight in his home in Elizabethton. Brownlow charged Haynes with this assault, and when the two met on the streets of Jonesboro on May 14, 1840, a bloody battle occurred. During the fight, Haynes got hold of a pistol and shot Brownlow through the upper part of his leg.[13]

This bloody encounter did not settle or terminate the feud between Haynes and Brownlow. They continued to be bitter enemies, personal and political, throughout their lives. Haynes edited the *Tennessee Sentinel* until it was sold in 1846 to William H. Smith, who renamed it *Old Hickory, And Hickory State Herald* in honor of the recently deceased Andrew Jackson. Although Haynes was retained as editor, by this time his attention had become distracted by his political career. Only two issues of this successor to the *Sentinel* are known to be still in existence. Brownlow spent ten years in Jonesboro with his *Whig* before moving it to Knoxville in 1849.[14]

While still serving as an editor, Haynes also became temporarily but not successfully a Methodist minister. In the summer of 1842 he was converted to Methodism at Jonesboro during a Methodist camp-meeting. A short time after his conversion, he was licensed as a Methodist minister at the quarterly conference, which was held at a little schoolhouse northwest of Jonesboro.[15] Haynes' active ministry lasted less than six months because he placed his political party above the church. In December, 1842, the Reverend C. W. C. Harris asked Haynes why he did not put a stop to the Brownlow feud. According to Brownlow, Haynes immediately replied: "I did not want to commence or engage in this controversy but my party and friends here

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12Ellis Merton Coulter, *William G. Brownlow, Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands* (Chapel Hill, 1937), 36-37.

13*Whig*, February 8, 1843.

14Fink, "Early Press," *loc. cit.*, 67. One copy of this paper published in August, 1847, is in the Library of Congress.

15*Whig*, January 1, 1843; Richard N. Price, *Holston Methodism: From Its Origin to the Present Time*, 5 vols. (Nashville, 1913), IV, 32. At the same conference Alexander N. Harris and Nathaniel G. Taylor, future brothers-in-law of Haynes and noted orators, were also licensed.

[Jonesboro] would give me no peace till I agreed to do it, they said I must do it: and as I have begun I will have to go through."[16]

When Haynes was asked if he had made such a statement to Harris, he denied it. Later, having heard rumors that Harris intended to prefer charges of "falsehood" against him at the next quarterly conference, Haynes decided to beat Harris to the draw by preferring charges of "falsehood" against him at the same conference. At this conference, which was held on January 28 and 29, 1843, at the Bethesda Church near Jonesboro, Haynes, according to Brownlow, denounced Harris as "base, unmanly, uncharitable, ungentlemanly, and dishonorable." Since Harris was a veteran minister with thirty years of honorable service, the members of the conference questioned Haynes' allegation. Subsequently, the chairman called for a vote on the charge. The final vote was fourteen to ten against Haynes. Since Haynes' charge had failed to gain a favorable reaction, the conference resolved that Haynes should stand trial for bringing false charges against Harris.[17]

The final trial of Haynes and Harris was held on February 11, 1843, at the Ernest Church on the Jonesboro Circuit. After all the witnesses had testified and all evidence had been discussed, the jury of clergymen returned the verdict of acquittal for Harris and silenced Haynes from preaching on the ground that he was guilty of falsehood and slander. As "Parson" Brownlow put it, "Haynes got hung [*sic*] on the gallows he prepared for another."[18]

Landon C. Haynes began the practice of law at the age of twenty-three, and he was a member of the Tennessee bar for the remainder of his life. However, he did not continuously practice law during his remaining thirty-five years. The periods of his most active pursuance of the legal profession were primarily during the decade preceding and the decade succeeding the War Between the States. Before the war he practiced law throughout East Tennessee from Elizabethton to Knoxville. After the war his practice was limited chiefly to the vicinity of Memphis.

Haynes' first law office was located at "Green Meadow," near Johnson City. After his father gave him the old Tipton farm, Landon

16 *Whig*, January 25, 1843.
17 *Ibid.*, January 1, May 10, 1843.
18 *Ibid.*, February 15, 1843. Unfortunately, only the Brownlow account of this controversy is available to the historian.

erected another building approximately the size of a smokehouse in the front yard beside the house. This small building he used as his office. Since Haynes' law office was situated at his home, he is honored as being the first lawyer of Johnson City. He probably was not the first attorney to practice in Johnson City, but he was the first lawyer to establish residence there.[19]

Haynes argued his first law case before the courts at Jonesboro. This case might be called the "Case of the Stolen Ham." A prominent citizen of Jonesboro had a ham stolen from his smokehouse. Believing from the evidence that a certain individual of that community was the guilty person, he commenced a personal suit against him to collect the value of the ham. The defendant employed Haynes as his lawyer. The lawsuit began as a routine litigation and nearly everyone expected the defendant to be proven guilty. After all the witnesses had testified, Haynes addressed the jury. He pointed out the fact that there was not an eyewitness to the crime; therefore, all the evidence presented by the plaintiff's lawyer was merely circumstantial evidence. Then, through his oratorical ability, he convinced the jury that the circumstantial evidence in this case was not sufficient to convict the defendant, and the jury brought in a verdict of acquittal. Soon after the trial the defendant moved from Jonesboro to a farm in the Nolichucky River Valley, and he did not hesitate to recommend and praise Haynes as an able and brilliant lawyer to everyone in his new neighborhood. So Haynes not only won his first law case but, according to tradition, also established himself throughout upper East Tennessee as a talented attorney.[20]

During the ante-bellum period Landon C. Haynes was closely associated with the political history of Tennessee. As a member of the general assembly from 1845 to 1850, he proposed and supported legislation regarding internal improvements, humanitarianism, education, reduction of state expenditures and indebtedness, and locating branches of the Bank of Tennessee in each of the three divisions of the state.

In 1845-1846 Haynes represented the counties of Washington, Greene, and Hawkins in the lower house of the general assembly. In this session, he served on the committees on Federal Relations and on the Penitentiary.[21] Haynes' participation in this, the Twenty-sixth,

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[19]Interview with Mr. Simmerly.

[20]Interview with Mr. James K. Deakins, Jonesboro, Tennessee, on May 31, 1951.

[21]*Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Tennessee,* 1845-46, pp. 5, 39, 46, 614. Cited hereafter as *House Journal.*

General Assembly was centered chiefly on matters that concerned his constituents, but he also revealed himself as a "wet" on the liquor question. He supported the bill "to tax and regulate tippling houses, to increase the revenue, and restore the rights of the people." The tippling house, an establishment where a customer could "tip" his bottle and drink its contents after making his purchase, had been legalized in 1831, but had been again prohibited by the "quart law" of 1838, which forbade the selling of liquor in quantities of less than a quart and drinking on the premises. The legislation of 1845-46 which Haynes supported repealed the "quart law" and re-established the licensing system for legalized tippling houses.[22] It is probable that Haynes was chiefly interested in the increased state revenue which would result.

Haynes also attempted to improve banking facilities in East Tennessee. To a banking bill he introduced an amendment asking the president and directors of the Bank of Tennessee to locate a branch of that bank in each of the three grand divisions of the state. The branch banks were to be located in the places where banks were then operating, and the local bank in each grand division which had made the largest net profit during the preceding year was to be selected as the branch bank. However, this amendment was tabled by the house.[23]

While the educational bill to charter Jackson College in West Tennessee and to endow it with $40,000 of land funds received from the United States was being discussed, Haynes proposed an amendment to that bill providing for the payment of $40,000 each to Washington and Tusculum colleges in East Tennessee to be obtained from the sale of the state's public lands. Although this amendment was accepted by the house,[24] it was not brought before the senate. Thus it appears that Haynes, like many another legislator, was interested in building his political "fences" by resorting to the state "pork barrel," but was not always successful.

In 1847 Haynes returned to the state legislature to represent the counties of Johnson, Carter, Sullivan, and Washington in the senate. He was appointed to the committees on Internal Improvements, Education and Common Schools, Federal Relations, and Enrolled Bills. He also served on a Select Committee of the Judiciary to consider the sink-

[22]*Ibid.*, 355; Philip M. Hamer, *Tennessee: A History 1673-1932*, 4 vols. (New York, 1933), I, 344 *et passim*.
[23]*House Journal*, 1845-46, p. 372.
[24]*Ibid.*, 213.

ing fund for the gradual payment of the state's debt and a special committee to study the possibility of connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by railroad.[25]

Haynes was very active in the Twenty-seventh General Assembly, his activities being scattered over a very broad field. As chairman of the Committee on Education and Common Schools, he introduced a resolution "directing the Comptroller to issue his warrant to the President of West Tennessee College for $40,000 belonging to said institution,"[26] even though the bill did not include any appropriations for the East Tennessee institutions. Haynes also introduced a bill that would "provide and set apart a sinking fund for the gradual reduction and liquidation of the debt of the State of Tennessee." This bill passed the senate but the house did not vote on it.[27] He supported the bills to appropriate $40,000 to create a hospital for the insane near Nashville and $5,000 annually, for the next two years, to finance the operation of the school for the blind at Nashville and the same amount for the school for the deaf and dumb at Knoxville.[28]

Haynes also introduced a compromise bill on internal improvements. The citizens who lived north of the Holston River supported improvement of the Holston and French Broad rivers, since they depended upon streams to carry their produce to market. Inasmuch as there were wagon roads connecting navigable streams, they believed that the legislature should similarly provide money to clear from the streams such obstacles as rocks and tree trunks. The citizens who lived south of the Holston, such as Haynes and other residents of Washington County, advocated railroad transportation because they possessed sufficient natural resources and property to enable them with the aid of the state to finance such improvements. They wanted a railroad to be built in East Tennessee from Bristol to Knoxville, which by connection with other proposed lines would unite Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina with Virginia and the North. In July, 1847, a convention had been held at Greeneville in an effort to reconcile the two factions. The convention recommended to the legislature that it both appropriate funds for the improvement of the Holston and

[25] *Journal of the Senate of the State of Tennessee*, 1847-48, pp. 4, 43, 63, 314. Cited hereafter as *Senate Journal*.

[26] *Ibid.*, 138, 146, 219.

[27] *Ibid.*, 317, 392, 406.

[28] *Ibid.*, 661.

French Broad rivers and support the construction of a railroad through East Tennessee between the Holston and Nolichucky rivers. In keeping with this recommendation, Haynes in the legislature presented a bill providing for appropriations of $250,000 for improving these rivers and $618,000 for the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, which would follow a route south of the Holston between Bays Mountain and Nolichucky River. Haynes' bill passed the senate but lost in the house.[29]

The counties of Washington, Hawkins, and Greene elected Haynes as their representative in the house for the Twenty-eighth General Assembly. When the legislature convened on October 1, 1849, Haynes was elected speaker by a vote of thirty-eight to thirty-one.[30] Throughout the course of this session, he ordinarily left the responsibility of introducing bills and presenting propositions to the other members, but he voted on all issues.

Railroad legislation was the most controversial issue that faced the legislators in 1849-50. Haynes was interested in state aid to railroads because he was a stockholder in the East Tennessee and Virginia project and had taken a very active part in the movement for its construction, which he believed would greatly increase the prosperity of his section of the state. The 1847-48 legislature had chartered the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company, but with the proviso that 25,000 of the 60,000 shares of stock had to be sold by January 1, 1850. On October 30, 1849, the house started the debate on a bill granting the company an extension of time to get the subscriptions. Samuel Powel of Hawkins County offered an amendment to leave the location of the railroad "open" instead of prescribing the location as south of the Holston, between Bays Mountain and Nolichucky River. Having failed to get the promised appropriation for river improvement, the citizens north of the Holston, under Powel's leadership, were trying to shift the location of the railroad to their side of Bays Mountain. John Blair and Haynes of Washington County opposed Powel's amendment, arguing that it would undo all that had been done. They insisted that

[29]James W. Holland, "The Building of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 4 (1932), 85-88; *Senate Journal*, 1847-48, pp. 369, 380, 603; Nashville *Daily Union*, November 1, 1849. Haynes drafted the charter for the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad Company, which was approved by that session of the legislature.

[30]*House Journal*, 1849-50, p. 3.

the compromise agreed to in 1847 at Greeneville be carried out even though the river improvement expectations had failed to materialize. Since $200,000 in shares of stock had been sold with the understanding that the location of the railroad would be south of the Holston, Blair and Haynes argued that to reopen the location would be grossly unfair. Finally, Blair offered an amendment that partially satisfied the viewpoint of Hawkins County, and on November 6, 1849, the legislature extended the time limit for two years.[31]

On December 13, 1849, John Blair introduced an internal improvement bill, containing twenty-five points, covering state-wide railroad transportation and river improvement. Its chief provision authorized state loans to specified railroad companies, including the East Tennessee and Virginia and the East Tennessee and Georgia, and state aid in the improvement of the Cumberland and Duck rivers, but not the Holston or the French Broad. After several days of discussion, Haynes spoke in favor of the bill on January 17, 1850. He argued that the bill would not, as its opponents had stated, bankrupt the state. He proved by quoting figures that the state had sufficient funds available, if properly invested, to pay off its $3,000,000 indebtedness in the next twenty years. He then discussed the success of railroad construction in other states and pointed out that the proposed railroads in Tennessee, when finished, would be able to pay off the public debt for their construction within the same twenty-year period. Haynes also enumerated the advantages that the railroads would bring into Tennessee. But his efforts were in vain since the bill was defeated.[32]

After Haynes had pronounced the adjournment of the house on February 11, 1850, he adjusted his political sights in the direction of higher legislative service. In 1851 he opposed Andrew Johnson, who had completed his fourth consecutive term in Congress, for a seat in the United States House of Representatives. This canvass was conducted between the two leading Democrats of the First Congressional District. The Whigs did not enter a candidate because they had hopes of sowing dissension in the Democratic party.

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[31]Nashville *Daily Union,* November 1, 1849. By this time the extension of the time limit was no longer necessary because a stock company had been organized to subscribe the number of shares necessary to save the charter. Holland, "East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad," *loc. cit.,* 88.

[32]Nashville *True Whig,* January 19, 1850. A similar bill was passed, however, by the next session of the legislature. Hamer, *Tennessee,* I, 423-24.

The canvass of 1851 was the greatest campaign of Johnson's congressional career because Haynes fought him with his own weapon of vituperation. Accusations of dishonorable conduct were made by both candidates. Some of the charges were of such a nature that, if proven, they would have disqualified the candidate to represent a congressional district in Congress.[33]

The most decisive debate of the canvass occurred at Blountville. The crowd that had assembled in the Blountville Church to witness the arguments of the candidates was predominantly the followers of Haynes because Attorney Matthew Haynes and Lavinia Haynes Gammon, a brother and sister of Landon, were leading citizens of that community, and the family of Landon's wife, Eleanor Powel, were former residents of Sullivan County. This opportune setting benefited Johnson because Haynes' tactics backfired. Haynes had the advantage since he was the first speaker. In his speech he asked Johnson for whom he had voted in the presidential election of 1836, Martin Van Buren or Hugh L. White. Johnson replied, "Judge White." Haynes had planned to use this illustration to prove that Johnson was not always loyal to the Democratic party, but Johnson took this opportunity to ask Haynes for whom he had voted in the gubernatorial election of 1839, Newton Cannon or James K. Polk. Haynes refused to answer the question. Then Johnson declared that he could prove that Haynes voted for both Cannon and Polk.[34] Haynes' refusal to answer Johnson's question brought about a state of confusion in the minds of Haynes' followers. This Blountville incident contributed to Johnson's receiving the majority of the Whig votes and thereby to his defeat of Haynes by a 1,653 majority.[35]

Haynes' defeat was a great disappointment to him because he had long desired a seat in the United States Congress. After this canvass of 1851 he went into political retirement for the next eight years and devoted his time to the practice of law. He also continued to promote adequate railway transportation by public addresses.

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[33]Oliver P. Temple, *Notable Men of Tennessee from 1833 to 1875: Their Times and Their Contemporaries* (New York, 1912), 378.

[34]Anderson to Nelson, June 25, 1859, Nelson Papers (McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville). Johnson could not use the same election of 1836 on Haynes because Haynes was not old enough to vote that year. The accusation by Johnson regarding Haynes' vote in 1839 was possible because at that time a citizen could vote in the county in which he lived and also in any other county where he owned property.

[35]*Whig*, August 16, 1851.

The voters took Haynes out of public office, but they could not take the political aspirations out of him. In 1859 he came out of his political hibernation and entered the congressional race against his former law instructor, Thomas A. R. Nelson. Nelson received the Whig and American, now known as the "Opposition," nomination at the Greeneville convention on February 18, 1859. Haynes was nominated by the Democratic convention which also met at Greeneville on April 20, 1859. From the day of Haynes' nomination until early August, Haynes and Nelson jointly canvassed the district. They spoke in nearly every town, village, and hamlet. This campaign of 1859 by Haynes and Nelson is considered one of the most memorable canvasses in Tennessee. It was conducted by two men who were personal friends but could not agree on political issues. Also, they were both noted orators. Throughout the course of their speeches and debates, both men followed the rules of gentlemanly procedure. Nelson was universally known for his fairness and honorable respect for his opponents, and Haynes met him on the same grounds.[36]

On May 2, 1859, Haynes and Nelson spoke at Jonesboro. The fact that they were both former citizens of that community added a dramatic touch to the occasion. During Haynes' two-hour address he asked Nelson whether he would support John Bell if Bell were endorsed for the presidency by the "Black Republicans" of the North and the Opposition party of the South. Nelson replied that he would support Bell because the "Black Republicans" would have to drop their policy of abolition if they endorsed him. Two days later, May 4, the local newspaper, the Jonesboro *Union,* stated that Nelson would vote for a "Black Republican" for President. This news story promoted a mass of opposition to Nelson because its readers thought that he was favorable to freedom for their slaves. On May 6 Haynes and Nelson spoke at New Market. Haynes spoke first, delivering another two-hour address, denying the charges of corruption in the Buchanan administration at Washington and explaining why the pension bill for war veterans had been defeated in Congress. The Democrats had refused to enact this bill because it would have increased the national debt. Nelson began his speech by denying the Jonesboro charge and explaining how the newspaper had misquoted his statement. At this time, to

[36]Temple, *Notable Men,* 168-69.

the surprise of many, Haynes voluntarily arose and sustained Nelson's denial.[37]

On August 8, 1859, Nelson was victorious at the polls by ninety votes with the overwhelming support in Cocke, Sevier, and Jefferson counties. His small majority in Carter, Sullivan, and Johnson counties shows that the "Taylor-Whig" relatives of Haynes were not true to their party. Haynes carried the counties of Washington, Hancock, Hawkins, and Greene, his majority in Greene County being obtained through the influence of Johnson.[38]

Besides serving in the state legislature and canvassing for a seat in the United States Congress, Haynes also served as a Democratic presidential elector in several elections. In the presidential election of 1844, he was the Polk elector in the First District, opposing T. A. R. Nelson, who was the Clay elector. The major issue of the canvass was the annexation of Texas.[39]

On June 24, 1844, Haynes and Nelson spoke at Jonesboro. Haynes stated that General Jackson's principles of government and the annexation of Texas were his choices. He also charged the Whigs with "Federalism." He used the word "latitudinarious," which Brownlow claimed was not in the English language, twenty-five times in connection with the principles of the Whig party. Nelson declared that the United States must obtain the consent of Mexico before annexing Texas.[40]

In November, although the Whigs carried Tennessee by 113 votes, Polk was elected President, thus marking the first time that a candidate had been elected President without carrying his own state. In the First Congressional District, including the counties of Washington, Carter, Johnson, Cocke, Sullivan, Greene, and Hawkins, Polk received 5,113 votes to 4,329 votes for Clay.[41]

Lewis Cass, a Democrat of Michigan, and General Zachary Taylor, a Whig and the Mexican War hero, were the main candidates in the presidential campaign of 1848. Cass' platform endorsed Polk's administration and justified the war with Mexico. Except for condemning Polk's administration, Taylor actually had no platform. In Tennessee

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[37]Nelson to Turner, June 14, 1859; Turner to Nelson, June 14, 1859, Nelson Papers; Hamer, *Tennessee*, I, 515.

[38]J. B. Brownlow to O. P. Temple, January 13, 1894, Temple Papers (University of Tennessee Library, Knoxville).

[39]Hamer, *Tennessee*, I, 308.

[40]*Whig*, June 26, 1844.

[41]*Ibid.*, November 13, 1844.

the scenes from the stormy canvass of 1844 were repeated and the main issue was debated pro and con by some of the same orators as in that campaign. Haynes as a Cass elector and Nelson as a Taylor elector again traveled throughout the First District in a joint canvass. In the November election, the Whigs carried Tennessee by 6,000 votes, but Cass carried the First District by forty-six votes, polling 5,501 votes while Taylor received only 5,455.[42]

Haynes was also active in the 1860 presidential contest. In 1860 there were four candidates running for the presidency: John Bell of Tennessee, Constitutional Union; Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, Republican; Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, Northern Democrat; and John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, Southern Democrat. However, the race was only a triangular affair in Tennessee; Lincoln was completely left out. Major canvasses were conducted in Tennessee in favor of Breckinridge and Bell. Breckinridge's policy was for the "protection of slavery in the territories" and the annexation of Cuba.

Haynes served as a state-at-large Breckinridge elector. He and his colleagues covered the state thoroughly with individual and joint canvasses. Their speeches and orations were filled with impetuous sentences opposing the "mean and damnable dogma of squatter sovereignty" and professing their love and honor for the South. Haynes as a Breckinridge elector and his brother-in-law, N. G. Taylor, as a supporter of Bell, covered the state in a joint canvass.[43]

Bell, whose platform was to maintain the principles of the national constitution in order to preserve the Union, was supported by famous orators: T. A. R. Nelson, G. A. Henry, N. S. Brown, and Horace Maynard, who were determined to crush the secessionists who had nominated Breckinridge in the same manner as Andrew Jackson had crushed nullifiers.[44] Shortly before the election, a minor canvass was organized for Douglas which proved to be more of an anti-Breckinridge than a pro-Douglas movement. This canvass originated in Memphis and it operated primarily in West Tennessee where Breckinridge was the leading contender. Douglas' electors argued that Breckinridge supported the policy of "disunion."[45]

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[42]Nashville *True Whig*, November 25, 1848; Hamer, *Tennessee*, I, 474.

[43]*Ibid.*, 518-19; Speer, *Prominent Tennesseans*, 213; Marguerite B. Hamer, "The Presidential Campaign of 1860 in Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 3 (1931), 15.

[44]Hamer, *Tennessee*, I, 518-19.

[45]*Ibid.*

The result of the election in Tennessee was as follows: Bell 69,710; Breckinridge 65,053; and Douglas 11,384. Bell received all of Tennessee's electoral votes.[46] Breckinridge probably would have carried the state if the last minute canvass for Douglas had not interfered.

Before serving as a Breckinridge elector for the state-at-large, Haynes' reputation as an eloquent orator and convincing debater was limited to East Tennessee. This canvass made it possible for him to extend his reputation over the entire state. This was the avenue which led to his election to the Senate of the Confederate States of America the next year.[47]

Politically, Haynes was a pro-southern Democrat who believed that Tennessee should cooperate with the South even if war were inevitable. From the presidential election of 1860 until his election as a Confederate senator, Haynes devoted his time to speaking and writing on the behalf of the Confederacy. On January 2, 1861, he spoke at Knoxville, declaring that Tennessee should separate from the Union and join the Confederacy because she was:

> Bound to the South by identity of institutions; bound to the South by soil and productions; bound to the South by reciprocal interests; bound to the South by the lines of her latitude; bound to the South by eternal laws of nature and of God; bound to the South by the great rivers that pour their floods into the Gulf of Mexico, and give her an easy transit to the consumers of her products through the world; let her feel that her union with the Southern States . . . is natural and inseparable, and the unalterable condition of her present and future safety, prosperity, and independence.[48]

On July 6, 1861, four days after Tennessee became an official member of the Confederacy, Haynes wrote L. P. Walker, secretary of war for the Confederate States of America, concerning affairs in East Tennessee. He assured Walker that civil war in East Tennessee was inevitable since there were about ten regiments of Union men now "under drill and armed with rifles and shot-guns" who would immediately start a rebellion if they had the assurance of aid from the Lincoln government. In this same correspondence Haynes also presented a plan to prevent immediate violence:

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[46]*Ibid.*, 519.

[47]John T. Moore and Austin P. Foster (eds.), *Tennessee: The Volunteer State, 1769-1923,* 4 vols. (Nashville, 1923), II, 148.

[48]Quoted in Hamer, *Tennessee,* I, 531.

> 1. A small, inadequate force is as bad or worse than none, because while it irritates, it invites aggression.
>
> 2. The question as to whether the presence of a force will irritate and incite to rebellion ceases to be a practical question, because the irritation grows worse without it and independent of it.
>
> 3. The presence of six regiments properly distributed will quiet the passions of the rebellious and secure peace in spite of Thomas A. R. Nelson, William G. Brownlow, Conly [Connally] F. Trigg, and William B. Carter, who are the leaders of the Union men. Moral power can no longer be relied on to crush the rebellion. No man possesses that power. Bell had more than any other man, but he is as helpless as a child. Maj. Gen. S. R. Anderson, or some gentleman equally calm, brave, and judicious, and six or eight regiments, properly stationed, armed, and equipped, will, I think, secure the peace without any violence.
>
> 4. I am looking every moment also to hear that the bridges have been burned and the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad torn up. Nothing can save it but a sufficient guard. The Confederate States have no marshall in East, Middle, or West Tennessee to assist in keeping the peace. Ought they not be appointed? . . . I would respectfully suggest, as a gentleman every way worthy and fit to be appointed marshall, if but one be appointed, General J. B. Clements, of Nashville, Tenn., for the state. He could then select such deputies in East and West Tennessee as might be necessary.[49]

Walker considered Haynes' plan and three days later he requested Governor Harris to send two regiments to Jonesboro or Haynesville (Johnson City).[50]

The general assembly of Tennessee was in session on October 24, 1861. The business of the day called for the election of two senators to represent the Volunteer State in the Congress of the Confederate States of America. The state legislature elected two eloquent orators, who were inspired with the doctrine of states' rights: Landon C. Haynes and Gustavus A. Henry.

As senator-elect Haynes immediately assumed his responsibility by writing President Jefferson Davis on November 11, 1861, regarding General Felix K. Zollicoffer's perilous position at Cumberland Gap. Zollicoffer, who was more experienced in political than military affairs, had taken that command on July 26, 1861. Haynes asked Davis to send Colonel John C. Vaughn's regiment from the Army of the Potomac to reinforce Zollicoffer's troops at Cumberland Gap because the flames of rebellion against the Confederacy would spread throughout East

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[49]*The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 129 vols. and index. (Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. IV, 364-65. Cited hereafter as *Official Records*.

[50]Coulter, *Brownlow*, 163.

Tennessee, and the Unionists would destroy the bridges and railroad if an enemy force should defeat Zollicoffer's army. He explained to Davis that any Confederate volunteers that might be raised in East Tennessee would be wholly inefficient "for want of arms."[51] Haynes waited a month for the reinforcements that never arrived; then he went to Richmond, Virginia, to visit President Davis and personally impress upon him the perilous state of affairs in East Tennessee.[52]

The efforts of Haynes to secure necessary troops to stabilize Zollicoffer's position at Cumberland Gap were fruitless and his anticipation regarding the inability of the troops that were stationed there came true in the early days of 1862. General George H. Thomas' Union forces took advantage of the situation and delivered a severe blow to the Army of the Cumberland at Mill Springs, near Cumberland Gap. In this battle General Zollicoffer was killed.

After Zollicoffer's death, Generals W. H. Carroll and G. B. Crittenden were given command of the Army of the Cumberland, which was left disorganized and demoralized. The confidence of the soldiers and citizens was lost and only natural obstacles and bad roads prevented the enemy from immediately occupying East Tennessee; however, the enemy was more interested in occupying Middle Tennessee than East Tennessee. Haynes wrote Davis, January 27, 1862, that only the appointment of a "brave, skillful, and able general" such as "General Marshall, General Floyd, General Pillow, General Smith, or General Loring" would restore confidence in the ranks and among the citizens.[53]

The members of the Confederate Congress, when it convened on February 18, 1862, worked continuously for the protection of civil and local rights against the domination of military power. The major legislation of Congress dealt principally with conscription, financing, and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. In the assignment of the members of the Senate to the various committees, February 25, Haynes was appointed to the committees on Patents, Post-Offices and Post Roads, Enrollment and Engrossment, and Judiciary.[54]

President Davis asked Congress for a conscription act on March 28,

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[51] *Official Records,* Series I, Vol. IV, 529-30.

[52] *Ibid.,* Series II, Vol. I, 858.

[53] *Ibid.,* Series I, Vol. VII, 849.

[54] *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America 1861-1865,* 7 vols. (Washington, 1904), II, 20-21. Cited hereafter as *Confederate Journal.*

1862. During the discussion regarding the draft, Haynes offered two resolutions which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. One proposed to pay the soldiers a monthly allowance according to the following schedule: sergeant-majors, twenty-five dollars; first sergeants, twenty-four dollars; sergeants, twenty-one dollars; corporals, farriers, blacksmiths, seventeen dollars; and privates, sixteen dollars.[55] The other resolution suggested that the pay of soldiers who were prisoners-of-war be given to their wives and children.[56] The first conscription law was enacted on April 16. It provided for the drafting of men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five and the retaining of the soldiers then in service for a term of three years from the date of their enlistment. Certain professional men, such as ministers, editors, doctors, governmental officials, and owners of fifteen or more slaves were exempted.

During the course of the war, the draft law was changed several times. On September 22, 1862, Haynes introduced an amendment to exempt members of the state militias from the conscription act. His amendment was passed by a vote of fifteen to two, but failed to gain a favorable majority in the House. However, some Confederate governors such as Joseph E. Brown of Georgia and J. J. Pettus of Mississippi refused to permit conscription officers to enlist state troops.[57] Haynes' amendment to exempt plantation overseers from the draft providing there were more than twenty slaves on the plantation, more than ten persons living on the plantation, and the overseer was employed for his job before April 16, 1862, was passed by an eighteen to seven vote on April 17, 1863. This "twenty nigger law" was also passed by the House since state laws required the presence of white men on slave plantations.[58] While the senators were discussing during the last session of Congress the possibility of drafting slaves, Haynes introduced a resolution, January 23, 1865, requesting that the President furnish the Senate with a report containing (1) the number of officers and non-commissioned officers and privates on the army muster roll for duty, (2) the number now present for duty, (3) the number of officers and

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[55]*Ibid.*, 44.

[56]*Ibid.*, 181.

[57]*Ibid.*, 311-12; Clement Eaton, *A History of the Southern Confederacy* (New York, 1954), 264.

[58]*Confederate Journal*, III, 305; E. Merton Coulter, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge, La., 1950), 320.

privates absent without leave, (4) the number of officers and privates in hospital or on sick leave, (5) the number of soldiers on detached service, (6) the number of persons detailed from duty, (7) the number of Confederate prisoners in the hands of the enemy, and (8) the number of officers and privates killed, died of disease, and permanently disabled for service. This resolution was adopted because its purpose was to determine the number of military men available for duty in order to decide if the shortage of manpower was so acute as to justify the conscription of Negro slaves.[59]

Financing the war was one of the most difficult problems that faced the Confederate Congress. The blockade of southern ports almost cut off all income from customs duties. Congress passed an internal revenue act, similar to the one used by the North, but the South did not have as much wealth to be taxed as did the North. Subsequently, the Confederate government issued bonds and paper money. After the first year of the war, the value of the Confederate treasury notes depreciated rapidly and many holders wanted to cash their notes. Haynes introduced a bill directing the Secretary of the Treasury to exchange 1,000,000 bales of cotton and 30,000 hogsheads of tobacco, which the government had on hand, to redeem the notes. However, this bill was defeated in the Senate.[60] In 1864 Congress passed a property tax, which was to be paid in produce and cattle by farmers and planters. Haynes introduced an amendment to this law to exempt persons whose property was held by the enemy on May 1, 1864. This bill was passed by a twelve to nine vote.[61]

During the war, Congress suspended the writ of habeas corpus three times for varying periods and on numerous occasions declared martial law in the invaded territory. Congress suspended the writ of habeas corpus in areas threatened by invasion on February 27, 1862, giving military officers authority to put traitorous persons in prison. During the second session the legislators decided that another law suspending the writ of habeas corpus should be enacted. On September 10, 1862, when a renewal of this law was up for discussion, Haynes spoke on the need of providing protection for the people arrested while the writ of habeas corpus was suspended by assuring all persons arrested,

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[59]*Confederate Journal*, IV, 479.
[60]*Ibid.*, II, 455.
[61]*Ibid.*, IV, 188.

besides members of the army and navy, of a trial by a civil court if the grand jury found sufficient evidence of guilt. He proposed that the arrestors make a report to the President stating the cause and nature of the accusation against the arrested person, and the President should report the accusations to Congress at certain intervals. He concluded his speech by declaring that martial law was unknown to the constitution and that any officer who proclaimed it should be punished. In October, 1862, Congress while renewing the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus for one year, also limited military law to the members of the armed forces.[62] Before the war ended, however, Haynes recommended a more severe policy in dealing with persons accused of treasonable activities. On February 11, 1864, he proposed the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus throughout the Confederate States for persons charged with (1) treason, (2) trading with the enemy, (3) destroying government property, (4) spying, (5) burning bridges, (6) exciting mutiny among the troops, (7) exciting slave insurrections, and (8) harboring deserters. His bill was defeated by a ten to fifteen vote; however, a somewhat less extreme measure was passed by Congress, to expire on August 1, 1864.[63]

It has been said that the Confederacy "died of states rights," and it is true that overemphasis on that principle, both in Congress and out, seriously handicapped the government in the prosecution of the war. Haynes naturally identified himself with the states' rights faction when he entered the Senate; but as time passed it seems that the exigencies of the situation led him to modify considerably his states' rights position and to approve of some measures in conflict with that principle.

When the Confederate Congress was not in session, Haynes toured the battlegrounds in Tennessee and its vicinity. He reported the military situation to President Davis and the Secretary of War and sent along his suggestions for improving the conditions. On August 29, 1863, he wrote Davis that "East Tennessee is sundered." He urged that from five to eight regiments be sent to East Tennessee to protect all "its iron, niter, salt, and lead interests." Within a week, Haynes received a reply from Davis that "assistance has been ordered and is on road."[64]

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[62] *Ibid.*, II, 271; Frank L. Owsley, *State Rights in the Confederacy* (Chicago, 1925), 166-67 *et passim.*

[63] *Confederate Journal,* III, 711; Eaton, *Southern Confederacy,* 58; Coulter, *Confederate States,* 337.

[64] *Official Records,* Series I, Vol. XXX, Part IV, 566; Vol. LII, Part II, 521.

Haynes, writing to Secretary of War James A. Seddon, September 9, 1863, that a Federal force of 4,000 men was advancing in Virginia through Tazewell County toward Wytheville, requested that assistance be sent there because only two or three companies of home guards were left to defend the town.[65] He was interested in the military situation of Wytheville because his family had taken refuge there after the Union soldiers had taken control of his estate, "Green Meadow," near Johnson City. Landon's family could not stay with his father, David Haynes, because their presence would have caused the seizure of his property. As it was, David's property was unmolested throughout the war because he told the Yankees that he was the father-in-law of Nathaniel G. Taylor, and he told the Rebels that he was the father of Senator Landon C. Haynes. Therefore, neither side disturbed him.[66] A year later, while Haynes was visiting his family during September, 1864, before attending the last session of Congress, he was informed that General John S. Williams and 2,500 troops were there en route to Georgia. Again, he wrote Seddon that this section of southwest Virginia could be defended from the enemy if Williams and his troops were temporarily detached to that department. Seddon ordered Williams and his Middle Tennessee soldiers to report to General John C. Breckinridge, who was commanding the Southwest Virginia and East Tennessee Command.[67]

At least once Haynes became more desperate than merely offering suggestions during his military inspection tours, and he went into action. While visiting Knoxville during the critical year of 1863, he traded his suggestions temporarily for a rifle. On June 19 and 20 Haynes and other white-collared gentlemen reported to Milton A. Haynes, lieutenant colonel of the Provisional Army of the Confederate States, to help defend Knoxville from the Union forces. After that Knoxville skirmish, Colonel Milton Haynes reported to the War Department that "with such compatriots and such fellow-soldiers a man might willingly at any time meet the foe." The compatriots of Milton Haynes were probably good soldiers but they could not repel the

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[65] *Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. XXIX, Part II, 716.

[66] Mrs. Robert Bachman, "Colonel Landon C. Haynes," *The Southern Magazine* (Wytheville), III (1936), 26.

[67] *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XXXIX, Part II, 878.

Union forces indefinitely. On August 29, 1863, Landon C. Haynes reported to President Davis the fall of Knoxville.[68]

At the end of the war, Haynes was arrested by the Federal authorities because of his service in the Confederate government. His sister, Mrs. Nathaniel G. Taylor, who was living in Washington, D. C., at the time of his arrest, appealed to President Johnson for his release. Johnson, his political opponent during the ante-bellum period, pardoned Haynes, who in 1865 moved to Memphis because the Union soldiers returning from the war were mistreating Southern sympathizers throughout East Tennessee. He spent the last decade of his life practicing law in West Tennessee and defending Johnson's policies of government during the Reconstruction period. On February 17, 1875, Landon Carter Haynes died in Memphis and was buried there in the Elmwood Cemetery.[69]

Landon C. Haynes was most noted during his lifetime as an eloquent public speaker. He was a natural born orator: "orator, *nascitur, non fit.*" Regardless of his political achievements, Haynes' fame as an orator was deeply embedded in the next generation. Today, most Tennesseans have forgotten his political attainments but they remember him as an orator. In a letter to Thomas A. R. Nelson on August 8, 1859, H. M. Folsom of Elizabethton referred to Haynes as the "Cicero of America." In the opinion of Oliver P. Temple, Haynes was a popular orator but "glittering rather than solid."[70] Frank Richardson in his book *From Sunrise to Sunset: Reminiscence* mentioned Haynes as the "silver-tongued orator of eminent fame." Doctor Charles Collins, an early president of Emory and Henry College, said that Haynes was the "finest declaimer he had ever heard." Mrs. Robert Bachman claimed that Haynes could not be "surpassed as an impromptu speaker."

Haynes' oratorical masterpiece was his tribute to "East Tennessee." He delivered this eloquent oration in 1872 while the supreme court of Tennessee was in session at Jackson. One evening, after several days of legal proceedings, a party was given in honor of the members of the Tennessee Bar Association. During the evening, General Nathan

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[68]*Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. XXIII, Part I, 391-93; Series I, Vol. XXX, Part IV, 566.

[69]Bachman, "Haynes," *loc. cit.*, 26; Hamer, *Tennessee,* II, 617; Moore and Foster, *Volunteer State,* II, 148.

[70]Temple made this statement when he was comparing Haynes with Johnson during the canvass of 1851. Temple believed that Johnson's solid facts were more convincing than Haynes' flowery words. Temple, *Notable Men,* 378.

Bedford Forrest, who was serving as toastmaster, arose and said, "Gentlemen: I propose the health of the eloquent gentleman from East Tennessee, a country sometimes spoken of as the Godforsaken." Haynes, smiling, arose and began:

> Mr. Toastmaster and Gentlemen:
>
> I plead guilty to the impeachment. I was born in East Tennessee, on the banks of the Watauga, which in the Indian vernacular means beautiful river, and beautiful it is. I have stood up on its banks in my childhood and looked down through its glassy waters and beheld a heaven below, and then, looking upward, beheld a heaven above, reflecting, like two mirrors, each in the other, its moon and planets and trembling stars. Away from its banks of rock and cliff, hemlock and laurel, pine and cedar, stretches a vale back to the distant mountains as beautiful and exquisite as any in Italy or Switzerland. There stand the great Roan, the great Black and the great Smoky Mountains, upon whose summits the clouds gather of their own accord, even on the brightest day.
>
> There I have seen the Great Spirit of the Storm after noontide go and take his evening nap in his pavilion of darkness and of clouds. Then I have seen him aroused at midnight, like a giant refreshed by slumber, and let loose the red lightnings that ran along the mountain tops for a thousand miles, swifter than an eagle's flight in heaven. And again, I have seen the lightnings stand up and dance like angels of light in the clouds, to the music of that grand organ of nature whose keys seemed to have been touched by the fingers of Divinity in the halls of eternity.
>
> Then I have seen the darkness drift away beyond the horizon, and the morn arise from her saffron bed like a queen, put on her robe of light, come forth from her palace in the sun, and stand tip-toe on the misty mountain tops, and while night fled before her glorious face to his bed-chamber at the Pole, she lighted the green vale and beautiful river where I was born and played in childhood with a smile of sunshine. O, beautiful land of mountains, with thy sun painted cliffs, how can I ever forget thee.

While Haynes was expounding his flowery phrases regarding East Tennessee, Forrest stood astonished. At the close he commented that he would not have been more surprised if a bolt of lightning had struck him from the top of Old Smoky.[71]

During the ante-bellum period, Landon Carter Haynes was closely associated with the history of Tennessee. As a member of the general assembly from 1845 to 1850, he proposed and supported legislation regarding internal improvements, humanitarianism, education, reduction of state expenditures and indebtedness, and the location of a

[71]Bachman, "Haynes," *loc. cit.*, 42. Mr. Simmerly said that Haynes prepared this speech during his early life and saved it for an appropriate time to deliver it. Since there is contradiction as to where it was given, it may have been spoken more than once by Haynes.

branch of the Bank of Tennessee in each of the three divisions of the state.

One of Haynes' chief objectives both as a public servant and a private citizen was the establishment of adequate railway transportation. As a member of the state legislature, he fought for state aid for railroads. Even during his political retirement, he continued to promote railroads by public addresses. These railroads were important transportation facilities during the War Between the States because of the lack of available water transportation.

Politically, Haynes was a pro-southern Democrat who believed that Tennessee should cooperate with the South even if war were inevitable. His stand on states' rights earned him a seat in the Confederate Senate during the war. Besides participating in the activities of that legislative body, he worked to improve the military situation in Tennessee.

Regardless of his political achievements, Haynes' fame as an orator was deeply embedded in the next generation. Today, most Tennesseans have forgotten his political attainments but they remember him as an orator.

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST

Translated and Edited by
D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt*

(Continued from the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* Nos. 9-27)

XX — September-December, 1792.

JAMES TO GAYOSO, CHOCTAW NATION, SEPTEMBER 4, 1792[1]

Chactaw Nation Sepr. 4th day 1792

Sir,

I take this Oppertunety by Jacob Cobb[2] who Is bound for the Natches to inform you what News we have at present which is nothing Part[icular?] the Indians that went to treat with the American[s] Is returnd And Seems well Sattisfyd the Americ[ans] desired them to love All white Peopple and all they wanted of them was Peace and freindship that they weare at Peace with all Powers and Hoped to Continene So Everey thing Seems quite Still at Presant Mr. Cobb has bin Minding My Cattle this twelve months Past and has quit On account of the Creeks being So troublesome And desires a few Lines to your Excelency for Permition to Settle in your District nothing More but I am Sir your Most Obt. Humble Servant

Ben: James

Gove,nor Manuel Gayoso de Lemos
Commanding his Most Catholick
Majesties Forces Cyvill and Millitary
By Mr. Jacob Cobb

Mr Lavial Beaf[3] is in this Nation at this time whom [I] immagin will give you Every Particular from time to time Relative to this Nation I therefore shall Desist B.J.

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, SEPTEMBER 24, 1792[4]

No. 174

Right now William McFarland[5] and his Wife and four children arrived from

*For the editors' introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as A.G.I., P.C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[1]A.G.I., P.C., legajo 41. For Benjamin James, a trader to the Choctaws, see installment XVII, *Publications,* No. 25 (1953), 79, 79n.

[2]Jacob Cobb later settled on Sandy Creek in the Natchez district. He is listed as the owner of some 350 acres there in 1795. *American State Papers, Public Lands,* 8 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), I, 881. It seems that he was the father of the mestizo of the same surname who became the head mingo of the Choctaw nation in later years.

[3]Jean de la Villebeuvre, the Spanish agent to the Choctaws.

[4]A.G.I., P.C., 41. Carondelet was governor at New Orleans.

[5]William McFarland's name does not appear in the list of landholders of the district,

the Chickasaw Nation with the intention of settling in this District, because it was not agreeable for him to reside longer in that Nation where he had lived eight years and grown Tobacco to send to Mobile. I hear that he is a man of good Conduct, and therefore I have no objection to his remaining here.

He left that Country three weeks ago when the Indians from that Nation were returning from Cumberland. He states that they were awaiting Payomingo [Piomingo]; that, according to reports of those who had arrived, nothing was talked about at the Treaty but the Preservation of Peace, and that they were each presented with two Blankets, two pairs of breeches, two pairs of [illegible], two Shirts, and two Handkerchiefs; and that every three years from now on they were to go to Cumberland to receive gifts, but he does not know whether they will be larger or smaller than those received this time; that, as the news goes there, not a single Indian stayed to join the American Army; that Ballenger,[6] when he was in the Chickasaw Nation, went with the intention of buying Horses for the American Army, but bought none because of the disease that had killed the greater part of the Stock; that the King of the Chickasaws had arrived in the Creek Nation about five weeks ago, and that the talks he brought were all of Peace; and that recently he had gone to Mobile.

He further stated that only one American Trader had been in the Nation recently, and that because of the difficulty they have collecting debts he believes they will not return.

On passing through the Choctaw Nation he found Benjamin Fooy,[7] Interpreter for Juan de la Villebeuvre, who was on his way to Join him en route to the home of Mr. Favre,[8] but he did not know for what purpose.

He also tells me that an Individual[9] should arrive here today from the Choctaw Nation who will give me more exact information since he left there at a later date. As soon as I get this news I shall communicate it to you. . . .

Natchez, September 24, 1792
Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

Señor Baron de Carondelet

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, SEPTEMBER 24, 1792[10]

No. 175

Jacob Cobb, the individual of whom I wrote in my last letter, has just arrived from the Choctaw Nation. He brought me a Letter from Mr. Benjamin James[11] recommending the Bearer, the original of which letter I enclose to you because of the news it contains. Cobb has added nothing to what I wrote you before except that the numbers of Indians who went to the Treaty was One Hundred from the Choctaws and Six Hundred from the Chickasaws and that the present was twice what I said, but Since he has not seen it, I will wait for news from Don Juan de la Villebeuvre to form an opinion on this matter. He assures me

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but David McFarlan (possibly a son) owned land on Bayou Pierre as early as 1775. *American State Papers, Public Lands*, I, 777.

[6]See *Publications*, No. 27 (1955), 85, 85n, 86, 87, for Joseph Ballenger.

[7]Benjamin Fooey, long a resident of the Choctaw nation, but since 1788 a settler in the Natchez district. Lawrence Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794*, 3 parts. Vols. II, III, IV, *Annual Report*, American Historical Association, 1945 (Washington, 1949), Part II, 265.

[8]Simon Favre had built Villebeuvre a house to live in when the latter became agent in the Choctaw country. *Ibid.*, III, xvi.

[9]Jacob Cobb. See James to Gayoso, September 4, 1792, above.

[10]A.G.I., P.C., 41.

[11]See James to Gayoso, September 4, 1792, above.

that nothing of importance happened at the Treaty; that the Sole object was to persuade the Indians not to harm the Whites, and to renew with them the friendship that they covenanted on other occasions. . . .

Natchez, September 24, 1792
[unsigned]

BEN JAMES TO FORBES, CHOCTAW NATION, SEPTEMBER 28, 1792[12]

Copy of a letter from Mr. Benjamin James[13]

Choctaw Nation 28th Septr 1792.

Dear Sir

I wrote you Some time past by an Indian [since which] I have had occasion to let you hear from me by one of the Name of Balleu[14] who Came in from the Cherokee River, and applied to me for a recommendation which I could not well give him as I was entirely ignorant who he was. I have since discovered that he in general bears no good Character amongst those who know him & think Should not be too much trusted untill further Known—

I am sorry to inform you that notwithstanding What we have been told, Mr. Turnbull[15] Still continues to fit out a Number of Indian Factors to the great hurt of many of your Traders; and very lately he has Supplied with Goods a Man of the Name of William Riddle that lives in My town, which must be of the Greatest disadvantage to me: however I am not the only one that Complains of the Same thing and we all expect you will put a finall Stop to this Underhand Traffick; as Mr Turnbull himself has lately been in the Chactaws & Chickesaws with an intent to entice the Indians to take Goods of him as I have been Credibly informed, which you Know from the Nature of an Indian is very easily done especially if they are in debt—This I Cannot help letting you Know of that you may take your measures accordingly for if it is not done, I plainly see it will be the Means of Creating great Confusion in the Nations—Nothing more at present I expect to be in Mobile Shortly—I am with esteem

Your most obedt.
Humble Sevt.
(Signed) Benn. James.

[Translation]

CARONDELET TO ARANDA, NEW ORLEANS, OCTOBER 1, 1792[16]

No. 14

Most Excellent Sir

Enclosed under numbers 1 and 2[17] Your Excellency will find translations of two letters sent to the Governor at Natchez and to me, by Captain Juan de la Villebeuvre about the occurrences among the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians, who went to Cumberland recently at the invitation of General Blount for General Washington: enclosed also are sketches of the Medals sent to the

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12A.G.I., P.C., 203. John Forbes was a cashier and business partner of William Panton. *Publications,* No. 15 (1943), 96, 100.

13For the use made of this copy see below, Forbes to Carondelet, October 31, 1792.

14For references on Bennett Ballew see *Publications,* No. 27, pp. 80n, 91, 95, 96.

15Panton to Carondelet, November 6, 1792, below, gives an account of John Turnbull's attempt to violate Panton's monopoly.

16A.G.I., P.C., 177.

17No. 2, dated September 12, 1792, is printed above. No. 1, of September 5, 1792, appears in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 74-77.

Chiefs of the Choctaw nation:[18] these papers explain the urgency with which I sent Villebeuvre to reside in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations as Commissary, and the necessity, utility and profit which will result to His Majesty from having in them a competent person to watch over the plans and ideas of our Neighbors, and who can carry out the orders of Government, preserving the honor of our arms where disinterested protection is required, a type of protection which we generously give to our allied Indian Nations, in spite of efforts of the United States to win them away from us. The purpose of the United States is clear: persuaded by the misfortunes which their arms have experienced, that the republic has not arrived at a position of Sufficient power to Conquer or destroy the Indian nations, nor to injure this Colony as long as they are our allies, they have changed their plans, adopting the policy of attracting our nations away from us by trade and presents; their plan, as revealed in the talks Sent by Their commissioners to the Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw nations, is to establish trading posts On all Their frontiers from the Oconee River to the Mississippi above Walnut Hills [site of Vicksburg], and develop them into forts unobtrusively; the trade of Panton's Firm being ruined in this way, all the Indian nations will be left under their direction, American traders moving in, who, accustomed to live in concubinage with daughters of Indians, will give the United States the means of directing the nations against us at will.

Every war we have with the Indians will be ruinous to this province, for its population, scattered along the Banks of the River on plantations and widely scattered houses, cannot gather rapidly enough to prevent depredations; therefore, the efforts of the Americans to win the affection of our allied nations can never be looked on with indifference, and the distribution of medals and commissions by the United States to some of the Chiefs, who have also received them from His Majesty since the treaty of peace in 1783, is directly opposed to the Peace and Harmony that exists between Spain and the United States.

Freedom to all the Indian nations to trade with this City subject to a duty of six per cent on imports and exports is the only recourse left to us, in order that the residents here can be able to give the Indians a more advantageous trade than the Americans and so hold them entirely dependent on Spain and form of them a powerful Barrier against the Americans.

If free trade is not adopted it will be necessary to permit Panton's Firm to establish a store at Walnut Hills,[19] which, being in the Neighborhood of the Chickasaw Nation, may discourage the Americans from erecting trading posts on the frontiers of that nation, or destroy them as they are established.

I hope Your Excellency, persuaded of the desirability of pursuing this plan, will be pleased to approve it, and also the other measures that will contribute to the success of the just views of our Government at the earliest possible moment; and that you will see fit to communicate to me His Majesty's orders on the subject as soon as possible, in view of the fact that any delay may produce fatal consequences. . . .

New Orleans, October 1, 1792

His Excellency the Conde de Aranda [unsigned]

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[18]These sketches are missing, but a detailed description of the one given to Bloodyfellow by President Washington is in McDonald to Panton, June 7, 1792, *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (Athens), XXIII, No. 2 (June, 1939), 189-91.

[19]Instead of permitting freedom of trade with anyone in New Orleans the monopoly by William Panton's trading company was extended to Walnut Hills and Chickasaw Bluffs (at site of Memphis, Tenn.), where he built stores. Later, however, the six per cent duty was taken from Panton's goods.

FORBES TO CARONDELET, MOBILE, OCTOBER 31, 1792[20]

Mobile 31st October 1792

Sir

A few days ago I received a Letter from Mr Benjn James of the Choctaw Nation of which the enclosed is a Copy[21]—The first part relates to one Balleu[22] who went from this lately on his return from Orleans; he designs passing thro the Chickesaws on his way home but I am affraid that Piomingo the American Partizan there, may put an end to his intended Voyage by Carrying him back to Cumberland, Where it is said he has been guilty of Some faux pas

I must request Your Excellency's attention to the other parts of this Letter, of which I have but too much reason to know the truth. Mr Turnbull notwithstanding my repeated entreaties to desist, Still continues to Carry on his underhand Trade[23] and I now See Myself forced to trouble you in order to have a Stop put to it

He has lately purchased a plantation at Baton Rouge in Company with another person and as he is fertile in invention, where he imagines his interest Concerned, his intention is to Carry on the Same Traffick from that place, under pretence of Providing for two half Breed Sons he has got—This Mr James, who has been with Me Since he Wrote the inclosed,[24] informed me of, and that he had been lately in the Chickesaws & Choctaws enticing the people to Come to that quarter; and in Case of failure in this plan he has projected another of going amongst them by Water, which he Can easily do by following the Course of the Yassou [Yazoo] which by one of its Branches leads to that Nation

I beg your Excellency to Consider What vexations these things must occasion; I can with truth assure you that it has the Worst effects upon the Indians, who together with Some of their Traders are Naturally but too apt to fly from one to another when in debt—I have therefore to request of Your Excellency that you will be pleased to give the necessary orders to prevent Such proceedings in future— . . .

John Forbes

His Excellency the Baron Carondelet

FORBES TO CARONDELET, MOBILE, NOVEMBER 1, 1792[25]

Mobile 1st November 1792

Sir

I had the honour of Writing you Yesterday by this opportunity, Since then by a Trader of the Creek Nation I have received the following information

Some Cherokee assisted by a Body of Creek Indians about a Month ago made an incursion into Cumberland, & there attacked a fort upon the packet path—The Americans however having had information of their design from a White Man who Sett off from the Cherokees on purpose, took their Measures so well, and gave them Such a Warm reception that, after losing part of their Men, Amongst whom their two leaders fell, & having a great many wounded, they desisted from their attempt and Were returning in Straggling parties When My informant left the Nation—[26]

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[20]A.G.I., P.C., 203.

[21]James to Forbes, September 28, 1792, above.

[22]Bennett Ballew.

[23]See below, Panton to Carondelet, November 6, 1792.

[24]James to Forbes, September 28, 1792, above.

[25]A.G.I., P.C., 203.

[26]The attack was on Buchanan's Station near Nashville on September 30. Leonard D. Shaw, agent to the Cherokees, had warned Blount. R. S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians; The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal* (Norman, Okla., 1954), 96-97.

They had taken two American prisoners the evening before the assault, but not being able to extract any thing from them, they were put to death and Scalped

The Same person also Mentions that, a few days before he left the Creeks, Some Chickesaws had been Sent to demand Satisfaction for the horses taken from their Countrymen in their late trip to Cumberland, and as they had been refused it was the General opinion that the Chickesaws would retalliate, if they Could get the Chactaws to join them—That the Chickesaws would most willingly Commence hostilities upon the Creeks, Your Excellency must have Known long Since—the friendship of Great part of that Nation, & their frequent Connexions with the American Western Settlements gives room to believe that they have imbibed no favorable Sentiments towards the Creeks; and the death of Piomingo's Nephew for which he has long breathed Vengeance will now be urged again to involve them in a War

To offer you My Sentiments in case of Such an event might be deemed officious, I cannot however omit remarking that the Americans are but too Well Situated for affording to the Chickesaws What Supplies of Ammunition they May want, and in return May Stipulate for Such Consessions as Might at a future period materially injure the interests of Spain— . . .

John Forbes

His Excellency The Baron Carondelet

PANTON TO CARONDELET, PENSACOLA, NOVEMBER 6, 1792[27]

Pensacola 6th November 1792

Much Esteemed Sir

I acknowledge the receit of your Excellency's letter dated the 25th ulto. & Shall be very happy to Concur with you in the Salutary measure of lessening by degrees the Quantity of Spirits which the Indians hitherto have been accustomed to receive, and I am well persuaded if we Can accomplish the design, that it will be productive of the good effects you expect from it.

With me there will be no difficulty to limitt my Traders to any given quantity that you shall mention, but I fear you'll find Some trouble in restraining the Inhabitants of New Orleans, the lakes, Mobile, Pensaiola [?] & Turnbull & others at Tombegbie from Vending Taffy, in Exchange for Bears oyl, Poultrie, Venison, and very often for Skins & furr to a very large amount, and unless this Can be prevented, the evil will Still Continue the Same.

Indeed Mr John Turnbull at the Tombegbie, has carried his presumption to So great a length, as to fit Traders & Indian Factors out openly, with all Kinds of goods & quantitys of Spirits, which he Sends to the Chactaws & Chickesaws in direct opposition to my traders & greatly to their Injury as well as mine—My partner Mr. John Forbes at Mobile has been forced to make some representations to Your Excellency lately respecting that Man's Conduct and I trust that your decision will be Such as will effectually put a Stop to his interfeering with our Commerce hereafter—

It is worthy of observation that this very man Turnbull together with his Copartners Mathers & Strothers & John Joyce[28] had the Choctaw & Chickesaw Trade for Several Years untill the Year 1788 when they were obliged to give it up, having (by their method of managing it) lost So much money, that they were unable to Continue it any longer—It was offered to me by his Majesty & received by me at a time when the Trade was in So ruinous a State that no

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27A.G.I., P.C., 177.

28For a reference to Mather and Strother's store and to Turnbull and Joyce as managers, see *Publications,* No. 22 (1950), 146n.

other merchant in the Colony would accept of it—If I have made it become more advantageous to me, than it was to them, they ought not to have a Grudge at me, for the effects of a different management or to envy me for Continuing a business which they had laid aside, & especially that I do it at a Cheaper rate & on far easier terms to the Indians than ever they proposed to do—

Turnbull is So Sensible of the impropriety of his Conduct, that he has Come forward to deffend the matter in the Name of his half breed Son, thinking that this will answer his purpose better, but I rest the matter on Your decision which I Know will be equitable & right—

In the meantime I am Contented with your reason for not being able to grant me the freight of Tobacco which I asked, and I shall wait patiently for the Issue of my aplication respecting the Wallnutt Hills— . . .

Wm. Panton

His Excellency The Baron de Carondelet

PANTON TO CARONDELET, PENSACOLA, NOVEMBER 6, 1792[29]

Pensacola 6th Novr 1792

Most Esteemed Sir

I have Already wrote Your Excellency, of this date, respecting the intrusion of Mr. Turnbull—Which I beg Your attention to with your usual Candor—This will be delivered to You by the Cherokee Chiefs who arrived lately with John McDonald[30] the Person I recommended to You in former letters—They will inform You that War has Commenced betwixt their Nation & the Americans, and of an unsuccessful attack they and the Upper Creeks made on a Fort at Cumberland—I gave Governor O'Neill a duplicate of a letter I received from McDonald previous to their arrival but least he omits or forgets to Send it, I shall enclose You the original—You will now see that my Journey to that Nation has not been without its effects,[31] but I must not flatter You with a belief that that Nation, any more than the Creeks, are unanimous on the War—There is in both Nations a Considerable party who are inclined for peace but as those for War are Composed of Men who have distinguished themselves in exploits of that nature they have of Course Considerable sway [and they] will in my opinion bring over the others provided You give these Chiefs assurances of due Support and that they return Satisfy'd with Your reception—much, very much will depend on their report when they return home and the decision of both Nations as well as the Choctaws & Chickesaws depends on Yourself—Moses Price one of the half Breeds who accompanies the other Chiefs was in England with Bowles[32]—he speaks English fluently, and will if You have time to listen give You the history of his Voyage—He has pledged himself to me to be faithful to his engagements and as I have known him from a Boy I think him Most worthy—John Taylor[33] another half Breed Speaks English, and these two Should be provided for as Interpretors or Substitutes under whoever You do

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[29]A.G.I., P.C., 203.

[30]See McDonald to Panton, October 6, 1792, in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXIII, No. 2, pp. 196-98.

[31]Panton's account (to Carondelet on September 7, 1792) of his journey to win McDonald is printed in *ibid.,* 78-79. See also A. P. Whitaker, "Spain and the Cherokee Indians, 1783-1798," *North Carolina Historical Review* (Raleigh), IV (July, 1927), 252-69.

[32]Moses Price was in England with William Augustus Bowles in 1790-91. For references to Bowles see *Publications,* No. 27, p. 84n.

[33]McDonald to Panton, October 6, 1792 (cited in note 30), lists Taylor's companions on this journey.

appoint to act as Superendint [*sic*] for that Nation—Rogeny's Son,[34] is by Birth a Creek, & on his return may be usefully employed in Carrying a talk to the lower Towns, who Continue refractory & are Still looking for the British at the Mouth of Occalogany[35]—The Cussitaw Town & two or three Chiefs of other Towns are gone to Saint Marys—and Wellbanks party do alledge it is by McGillivrays orders—This I cannot Credit—but I mention it to You as I have heard it, & wish You to Suspend Your belief also untill I hear from himself—

The Bloody Warrior with another chief should be sent to the Choctaws & Chickesaws as They are Men well known & a talk from them to these people will have a favorable effect—Things are in general in a fair way and the Spring of the Year, *if You chuse it*, may Commence with as Bloody a War as ever the Southern States have experienced—Little will be done previous to the month of March as the Indians must hunt to cloth themselves—Tomorrow I shall write to Ben James of the Choctaws to ensure the Bloody fellow a friendly reception in that Nation—Moses Price will give You the Names of the Headmen of the Cherokees who have not Yet Come down, nor Cordially as Yet have entered into the Measure, And I advise You to Send them an invitation—and let Your full intentions be made known to their whole Nation—To attempt to Stand a moment behind the screen will destroy all that has been rearing and forever debar You of the Confidence of Indians in future—If the War should have the appearance of approaching You will You take into Your Pay three or four hundred Loyalists? I have some reason to think that a Band of Men might be obtained Who would be Very usefull in case there is to be an American War against Spain—This letter is intended for Your own eyes only and You will forgive me the freedom with which I write . . .

Wm. Panton

His Excll The Baron de Carondelet

[Translation]

CARONDELET TO ARANDA, NEW ORLEANS, NOVEMBER 8, 1792[36]

No 20

Confidential Most Excellent Sir

By the Contents of the Letter, a copy of which is enclosed,[37] which I have received from His Majesty's Commissary in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, Lieutenant-Colonel Juan de la Villebeuvre, Your Excellency will learn of the Success of my dispositions to unite into a federation to defend their possessions under the protection of Spain not only the powerful nations lying between the Appalachian Mountains, the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico but several of those that dwell North of the Ohio; which to my way of thinking is the only recourse that Spain has to hold the Americans within their boundaries, and forever protect the Mexican Kingdom against their too ambitious projects which are too evident to be doubted any longer; Their public papers,

[34]With his Creek background, Rogeny's son became a sort of perennial messenger between that people and the Cherokees. As late as August 15, 1798, Richard Thomas, secretary to Benjamin Hawkins, reported to Timothy Barnard that this individual had just arrived in Cussetaw with a message from the Cherokees, and would depart the next day on a similar mission to Fort Wilkinson. *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* (Savannah), IX (1918), 498-99.

[35]A group of Bowles' partisans were still at Ochlockonee under Major George Wellbank awaiting the return of their leader. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians*, 101-02.

[36]A.G.I., P.C., 177. Conde de Aranda was the Spanish prime minister.

[37]Villebeuvre to Carondelet, September 5, 1792, printed in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley*, III, 74-77.

Their efforts to draw the Indians from the alliance with us, the gathering of an Army on the Ohio River whose strength according to the act of congress should be ten thousand men for three years, and the following extracts from another letter sent me by the said commissary on the 12th last,[38] all concur to cause distrust, and to counsel the quick adoption of efficacious measures to forestall their designs.

A Chickasaw mestizo named Brown[39] affirms that a trader named Carney,[40] who had been with some others from His nation to Philadelphia, was told by the Americans that they had expected to be able to supply them with merchandise and presents during the past spring, by way of the Lower Mississippi River or Through Mobile, but that they expected to be able to do so next spring; Undoubtedly, adds the said Commissary, they have some design against this Colony, and there remains no room to doubt it.

In another paragraph of the same letter Don Juan de la Villebeuvre Continues by saying that the Chief of the Great Medal Ugulayacabe[41] had said that, having been to Cumberland with the rest who went on the invitation of the American Commissioners, Governor Blount asked him which side he would take in case of a war with the Spaniards, to which he Replied neither and that he would watch them carry it on.

Once the nations that dwell on this side of the Ohio are united . . . .

[a page missing here from the photostats][42]

. . . Spain, on the Contrary they ought to ruin and weaken the United States for many years; who to my way of thinking would not compromise themselves since their design has been found out and will prefer to give up their pretensions; but it is Apparent and evident that whenever the Indian Nations obtain Some restitution of their lands through the influence of Spain, Be it through a war or by political negotiations, they will forever have the highest Opinion of Her power, and naturally, after Comparing Her unpretentious procedure, Her Beneficent and Constant support, with the cruel wars, vexations, and usurpations that they have experienced from the Americans since the epoch of Their independence, will live with the greatest pleasure and security united Under the protection of the Spanish Nation which they will have for Their protector and defender against their ancient oppressors, and, being Always ready to Sacrifice themselves for her, they will not permit her to be insulted with impunity. Three hundred thousand pesos, a Spanish regiment, and a hundred and fifty Artillerymen, would be sufficient to carry out this plan in case His Majesty deigns to give it His Royal approval, the only object of my desires.

As for the arms and munitions which the same commissary in his letter supposes that those Indians will request of me, I will reply that, since they are not as liable to attack from the Americans as from the Creek nation, I will give

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[38]Same to same, September 12, 1792, in *ibid.,* 80-83.

[39]Chief Richard Brown was destined to be in the faction of The Black Fox, The Glass, The Turtle, Sowolotah, etc., who connived at alienating a large part of the Cherokee lands, and finally favored removal beyond the Mississippi. Cotterill, *Southern Indians,* 157, 195, 202.

[40]Probably a reference to William Carney, who traded in the Chickasaw nation. His nephew, Arthur Carney, was a trader among the Choctaws. See *Publications,* No. 20 (1948), 112, 112n, 113, 113n, and *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXIII, No. 4 (December, 1939), 382.

[41]One of three Chickasaw chiefs given medals by the American commissioners. Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 83.

[42]A note in the index to the bundle of photostats from legajo 177 in the McClung Collection states that "page 2 in other b." It seems to be missing from the Collection.

them only the customary present now, but that in case of necessity they will find all they need for their defence at the Posts of Natchez and Walnut Hills.

May the Lord keep &c, New Orleans, November 8, 1792.

[unsigned]

His Excellency the Conde de Aranda

[Translation]

CARONDELET TO ARANDA, NEW ORLEANS, NOVEMBER 20, 1792[43]

Confidential

I have the satisfaction of telling Your Lordship at this time that the Cherokee Chiefs who are here under the lead of the Bloody Fellow beg that Spain reestablish the ancient fort at Tombigbee 80 leagues distant from Mobile and a like distance from Walnut Hills at thirty-two degrees and some minutes which is the same latitude as Walnut Hills and that of Muscle Shoals situated in their nation on the Tennessee River at 34 degrees and 10 minutes North Latitude, 30 leagues distant from the Bank of the Mississippi, 20 from the said ancient Fort of Tombigbee and 34 from the Ohio, formerly occupied by the French; by them Spain will dominate all the East Bank of the Mississippi up to the mouth of the Ohio as it does now the West Bank, separating the Americans Forever from them, Protecting this Kingdom against their insults, and, lastly, destroying forever the project of opening communications from the Ohio to the ocean by way of the Tennessee [Little Tennessee], Cherokee [Tennessee], Tugelo and Savannah Rivers that I mentioned in communication No. 19.[44]

The advantages of these establishments are so evident that the Americans have been working for several years to make themselves masters of those places, but wars and Indian incursions have thus far destroyed all their projects and attempts; Spain, on the Contrary, Invited by those nations, can occupy them at this time without the least opposition, and from them extend her commerce considerably, even as far as the American settlements. Supported by the Sioux of the West Bank and the forts of New Madrid and Walnut Hills, and by the Indians mentioned above, on whose petition these forts are to be built, They will be respected by the Americans at all times: and Article VII of the declaration of rights of the Constitution of Virginia, which says that no part of the property of a man can Be taken from him or applied to public uses without his own consent, or that of his lawful representative; and that the people are not bound except by laws to which they have consented in this manner for the general welfare, authorizes the Cherokee nation to sell or cede Its lands to whoever it finds most convenient, especially when it is not bound in this matter By any treaty with the United States, As the Bloody Fellow and the rest of the said Chiefs affirm.

Nevertheless, in order to forestall any imputations which may be made about usurpation, or ambition to extend our possessions unjustly, as well as to gain time to consult the Captain General about a matter of such importance, I Told the Cherokee chiefs, that His Majesty, not being in need of, nor desirous of acquiring more dominions or lands than those he had already, would never consent to make those Settlements until the rest of the nations should enter the defensive confederation by unanimous agreement; that is, the Choctaws,

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[43]A.G.I., P.C., 177. This letter duplicates parts of Carondelet to Las Casas, November 20, 1792, printed in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 96-98.

[44]Carondelet to Aranda, No. 19. It is referred to in Carondelet to Las Casas, November 20, 1792, printed in *ibid.,* III, 96-98, as No. 19 to Floridablanca.

Chickasaws, Creeks and Shawnees, and this solely for their protection and use would the Spaniards, invited by the Cherokees and Choctaws, erect these forts.[45] Time is precious, and Secrecy indispensible, for the Americans may anticipate us and drive the Cherokees from those places: Especially since General Scott[46] is due to Come down in October to make a settlement at Muscle Shoals; therefore, as soon as I have the approval of the Captain-General, I will go and execute the plan in question, the advantages of which permit me to doubt not that I will receive such permission.

As for the more than apparent reasons that there are for believing that the United States will not risk an open war with Spain to Sustain Their Western settlements, which I read have already cost so much to carry on war against the Northern Savages and to Preserve the lands they have usurped, I refer to what I stated in confidential letter No. [17][47] of October 8th last as well as to the fact several states have represented to Congress that all the more brilliant youths were going out to the Western Settlements thus greatly weakening the former, and Congress is considering whether or not to abandon them, Consequently they are at present looking with indifference, to say the least, on the said settlements.

May the Lord etc. November 20, 1792

[unsigned]

His Excellency the Conde de Aranda

[Translation]

CARONDELET TO THE CHEROKEE NATION, NEW ORLEANS, NOVEMBER 24, 1792[48]

Talk of the Baron de Carondelet—Governor &c. to the Chiefs, Warriors, and others of the Cherokee Nation

Brothers

I have Seen with much Satisfaction the Chiefs, the Breath, Charles of Chickamauga and the Warrior Bloody Fellow of Your Nation,[49] I have heard Their Talk which I preserve in my heart; the misfortunes of Your nation have afflicted me and I sincerely desire to alleviate them.

I am informing the Great King of the Spanish Nations, of all that Your representatives have told me, His Majesty has all the Red nations at heart, desires their happiness, and that all of them will live in peace, and preserve Their lands: The Great King will with pleasure use his mediation between Your nation and those of Your allies to the North, with the United States Your friends to reestablish peace between them and that all remain contented.

Brothers

Your representatives will tell you all that they have Seen and heard, the Good Counsels that I have given them, the close union I am forming for the happiness of the red men our good friends, and to remove them in the future from the misfortunes of war: Your nation will try to Suspend all hostilities against the United States, remaining in Your lands on the defensive, while the Great King treats of peace between you and the Americans Your neighbors, and obtains

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[45]Compare with Carondelet to the Cherokee nation, November 24, 1792, below.

[46]Probably a reference to General Charles Scott of Kentucky.

[47]Carondelet to Aranda, No. 17. The governor had covered the same subject in a letter to Las Casas on October 18, 1792, and again to the same on November 20, 1792, cited above in note 44.

[48]A.G.I., P.C., 177.

[49]For the names of the chiefs see McDonald to Panton, October 6, 1792 (cited in note 30), and Panton to Carondelet, November 6, 1792, printed above.

from them the lands you need for Your Hunting, with a demarkation of Boundaries that will leave no more room for disputes.

You will inform me about Your claims, About Your boundaries, so that I may immediately inform the Great King about them, and In the other nations of the North Your allies wish to inform me of Theirs. I will try to get them included in the same treaty which ends your differences With the United States.

Signed and sealed by me in the City of New Orleans, November 24, 1792—

[unsigned copy]

[On the back this note.]
This was sent under No. 8 in a Letter of January 24, 1793 to our Envoy in Philadelphia

BRASHEARS TO [GAYOSO], NATCHEZ, NOVEMBER 25, 1792[50]

Dear

Sir. I [set down] to Right You the Perticare [Particular] Vews of the Treaty of Comberland Betwe[en] Govner Blunt and the Chactaws and Chicasaws[:] I Sent[51] for you Out of no Ill desire But to give you Some Smal Preasents to fullfile Our Promas at the Treaty of Hopewell I Sent for you to let you Know that we are not Lyars wee Only want to Convince you of Our Trew Frendship you and the Chicasaws we Dont want to tell Any thing but Truth as you may go Home Satisfied with ous and all your Neighbours and to Love your White-People and to Hold them fast by Hand thare ar the People that find you in Goods and Aminion [Ammunition] Evy thing that you stand in need of tha ar Our Find as well as yourn and Go and See them as you shal as befour Genera[l] Washinton is Desirous to See Some of Your Head Chief of your Land to Convince you of his Trew Friendship We have Sum Very bad Indians to Deel with heare tha ar People that wishes to be at Peace with nobody I Wish that you will not Beleave Any thing thies Bad Indians Shall Tell you We ar desirous to be at Peace With Evry Bodey We Give you Anvitacion to Come and See Ous in Spring at Nash Vile on Cumberland, it oute of no ill desire it is to Shoo you that we ar your frind and to Convince you that we Dont want to Decev you The Spanards is Your Friends and Hold them by the Hand and Lisin to What tha Say to you and Go and Se them you shal we are Convened [?] that tha ar your friends We have Eat Drunk and Smoked togather Like Brothers and I Hope we will Still Remain Frind and Neighbours to Geather

So no more but Still Remain

Your Esteame Frind
and Umble Servant
Turn. Brashears

[In Spanish this note:]
Natchez 25 of November, 1792
By Manuel Gayoso de Lemos
Natchez

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[50]A.G.I., P.C., 41. For Turner Brashears see *Publications*, No. 27, p. 87n.

[51]Beginning with these words "I sent" the nearly illiterate Brashears was endeavoring to set down the talk delivered by Blount to the Chickasaws and Choctaws, whom Blount had met at "the Conference Ground, near Nashville," August 7-11, 1792. Details are given in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1832-1834), I, 284-88.

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, NOVEMBER 26, 1792[52]

No. 198

I enclose to you a Letter from Turner Brashears[53] which I had him write here telling what he knew about the last treaty at Cumberland.

In truth I have found no one yet who has told me a thing that happened at said Treaty against our interests, and from all I have been able to gather, at the Hopewell Treaty the Americans had nothing in the way of gifts to give the Indians who attended, and they promised them presents on another occasion; and finding themselves involved in a destructive War, with the Indians of the North, and fearing that the Choctaws and Chickasaws would join them, they tried to avoid such a thing by means of this Cumberland Treaty, fulfilling what they had promised at the Hopewell Treaty. I am not saying that on account of this their tactful dealings are not for the purpose of disposing the Indians in their favor, giving them now to understand that they are demanding nothing of them.

I hope to secure the original of a Copy of the Hopewell Treaty and then we shall clear up all doubt about its contents.

May the Lord keep Your Lordship many years, Natchez, November 26, 1792

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

Señor Baron de Carondelet

[Translation]

CARONDELET TO ARANDA, NEW ORLEANS, NOVEMBER 28, 1792[54]

No. 24

Confidential Most Excellent Sir

In Conformity with what I wrote Your Excellency in confidential letters Numbers 22 and 23 dated the 13th and 20th of this month,[55] I called together here the King of the Chickasaws, Franchimastabé the Great Chief of the Choctaws, Kiskilikaski,[56] the Great Chief of the Creek Town of Cussitaws, with twenty-six Great and small medal chiefs of the Choctaw nation and some thousand and four Captains and Warriors who accompanied Franchimastabé, or who happened to come at the same time.

Taking advantage of so good an opportunity I called together several times the King of the Chickasaws, Franchimastabé, the Great Chief of the Cussitaws, and the other great and small medal chiefs, and Seven Cherokee Warriors and Chiefs; I explained to them the State and Situation of all the Indian nations our neighbors, the great and frequent lack that they had felt of their lands since the declaration of independence by the United States, the uncertainty of the boundaries with them, and the need of going in a body to obtain a delineation of them which will leave no room for further interpretations and thus put an end to the hostilities on the part of both. After much discussion, as is customary in Such meetings, they agreed that my ideas were good, and that they would report my talks or propositions to the assembly of

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52A.G.I., P.C., 41.

53Printed above.

54A.G.I., P.C., 177.

55The letter of November 20, 1792, is printed above; that of November 13 is in A.G.I., P.C., 1446.

56Carondelet was particularly anxious to win this chief so he would destroy the influence of Wellbank over the remnants of Bowles' partisans. Carondelet to Montreuill, December 13, 1792, printed in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 100-01.

the nation, and that in the spring they would establish the permanent congress composed of three chiefs from each nation, that is, from the Creeks or Talapuches, from the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws; that those 12 envoys would be maintained by the King, which might cost some 2500 pesos annually, the group to be advised by the King's Commissary,[57] who would therefore become the arbiter of those nations.

I have told them that the said congress would decide annually on the distribution of the presents that His Majesty sends to the nations, and that the Said presents would be distributed to the Chickasaws at Walnut Hills, to the Cherokees at the Margot River, to the Choctaws at Natchez and Mobile, and to the Talapuches or Creeks at Pensacola and St. Marks; by which the Royal Treasury would save the great expense of rations and transportation for the Savages who frequently Come down to the Capital, the inhabitants would be much less molested in their property, the Indians would be better attended to in view of the fact that they are accustomed to sell part of their presents for a little Rum before leaving the capital, and, given all at one time, the presents would seem to them much greater.

The Cherokee Chiefs, among them the famous Warrior Bloody Fellow, spoke in the meeting with much force and energy against the incessant usurpations and vexations by the Americans; he made plain to all their plans to destroy the Indian nations and take from them by force their hunting lands, the only sustenance that the present generation has or will have, and displayed a collar sent by his nation as a plea for help.

The King of the Chickasaws put it on first as a sign of agreement, and afterwards all the others followed suit; then he spoke and said that before resorting to arms it was best to try conciliatory measures; that the Great King of the Spanish Nations, who loved and protected the red men, would with pleasure try to obtain from the United States, His Friends, some reasonable conditions that would put an end to all disagreements; and in conformity with the Spirit of the Talks that I sent to the Cherokee Chiefs, a copy of which I enclose under No. 1, I went on leading them to the point that I had planned of uniting all those nations to Spain to make war in union with those of the North against the United States in case His Majesty so decides, or to obtain for the King the mediation between them and the Americans, who will fear the displeasure of Spain when they see that she is back of them, and will grant the Indians some advantageous conditions; Which will increase Their love and respect for this power; I do not despair of getting the Northern nations to enter this union by means of their allies the Creeks and Cherokees, particularly since I have learned that the Iroquois or Shawnees, which live Around the Canadian Lakes, have sent a Collar which is due to pass through my hands.

By the Plan which accompanies this under No. 2,[58] based on that drawn by the Warrior Bloody Fellow with an intelligence very much Superior to that of a Savage, Your Excellency will learn of the great usurpations made three times by the Americans of lands belonging to the Cherokees, who have recently been deprived of the best Hunting lands they had left and have therefore been obliged to renew a war by which the Americans hope to advance to Muscle Shoals and the Mississippi: it is necessary to Support the Cherokees, Whether for war, or for negotiations about all the land between the Cumberland River and the Mississippi, and there is no time to lose; the Surest method would be

[57] Juan de la Villebeuvre.

[58] This map is reproduced in Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *El Brigadier Jaime Wilkinson* (Madrid, 1913), 48-50.

the occupation of the Post at Muscle Shoals to which the Cherokees Invite us, and the ancient post of Tombigbee, to which the Choctaws would consent without difficulty; but if His Majesty does not find this a propos, it will always be possible, as I have said, to act as the mediator between the Creeks, Cherokees and the Americans.

While His Majesty's orders about the matter arrive I will try to confirm the nations in the defensive alliance which I have proposed, and underhandedly Supply the Cherokees and Creeks with Sufficient arms and munitions to maintain themselves without great loss until we receive the Sovereign intentions which will decide our operations.

New Orleans November 28, 1792
[unsigned]

His Excellency the Conde de Aranda.

FORBES TO JAMES, MOBILE, NOVEMBER 29, 1792[59]

Mobile 29th Novr. 1792

Dear Sir

I request you will be so good as to forward the inclosed Letter to James Colbert[60] in the Chickesaws by the very first opportunity as it relates to some money matters & requires haste

I have wrote Aleck McGillivray concerning the amount you left against him, but as yet have not received an answer—he appears to be afraid of some disturbance from the Chickesaws as they say he is going to move all his property into the nation—

You will soon have some Cherokee Chiefs your way[61]—they are gone to Orleans & on their return they intend going thro' your nation & the Chicasaws to form an alliance against the Americans,—of which I shall write you when they come this way in the mean time

I remain . . .
John Forbes

Mr. Benjn. James
Chickesaws

[CARONDELET?] TO McGILLIVRAY, NEW ORLEANS, DECEMBER 16, 1792[62]

New Orleans the 16th December 1792

Dear Sir

the King's Commissary in the Choctaw Nation the Lieutenant Colonel Jhon [*sic*] la Villebeuvre writs me that a body of 1500 men detached from the American Army is ready to come down to drive the Cherakee from the Lands they are in possession of between the river cherokee [Tennessee], & tenessee [Little Tennessee], while another body commanded by General Robertson is to station themselves at the mouth of the tenesee river in the Ohio to cut every communi-

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59A.G.I., P.C., 208.

60One of the several mestizo sons of Captain James Colbert. See D. C. Corbitt, "James Colbert and the Spanish Claims to the East Bank of the Mississippi," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids), XXIV (Mar. 1938), 457-72.

61Carondelet to McGillivray, December 14, 1792 (printed in J. W. Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* [Norman, Okla., 1938], 349-50) identifies them as "Two principal chiefs and the Warrior Bloodifello." For the purpose of this mission see Cotterill, *Southern Indians,* 97-98.

62A.G.I., P.C., 204. The peculiar wording of this letter was probably the work of Don Andres Armesto, the interpreter in New Orleans.

cation with the said cherokees & the northern Indians.[63] You know perfectly well how is interesting to all our Nations to throw every obstacle to that attempt, because should the Americans succeed, & become masters of the heads of the River which runs through the lands of the Creeks, Choctaw, & Chicasaw, they will invade ours the moment they would find it eligible

It is then highly convenient that improving the moments you may engage your Creek to support powerfully the Cherokees, & to unite themselves, as soon as possible, in a closer connexion with the chactaw, and Chicasaw Nations, whom from my part I will convince of the [dangerous?] consequences they will labour under, should the Americans succeed in their scheme. It is of the highest moment to setle by all means, at any rate the disturbances between your Nation, & those of the Chactaw, & Chicasaw; being sure that from my part all shall be constantly, & powerfully supported—

I am

Dear Sir Your most &c—

[Carondelet]

General Alexander McGillivray

WILKINSON TO GAYOSO, FORT WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 17, 1792[64]

Headquarters

Fort Washington

Decr. 17th 1792

Permit me my Dear Sir, after a very long Silence, to offer you this testimonial of my increasing Friendship, and to assure you of my own temporal welfare, & of my warm wishes for your happiness, For altho. the Day may come, when we may meet in Arms, I shall never cease to be your personal Friend, and under the good understanding which at present exists between our respective Courts, I flatter myself, their can exist no cause to interdict our friendly correspondence—

I am sorry to inform you, that, to my great disappointment & mortificati[on] the past Season, has been wasted in fruitless assays to accomplish a peace with the Belligerent Savages, by negosiation[65]—The attempt, was injudicious, but the clamours of the Atlantic States against the War, [made it necessary?]—I have had three flags murdered, & among them two Officers of Rank—The Savages are openly supported by the British of Detroit, who stimulate them to continue the War—I shall of consequence have to fight them the ensuing Campaign, which will be opened as early as April, and if I am well supported, & am suffered to exercise my own discretion, I will Humble my Enemy before Autumn.—

The national Legislature is now in Session, & I expect to hear of warm disenssions, as the Members are divided, some being for the augmentation of our Military force, some for the completion of the present Establishment & others for a reduction—The late aggression of the Cherokee Indians, on our South Western frontier, [which by the bye is ascribed (I hope unjustly) to the Baron Carondelet][66] will I expect favor the Augmentation, but the Event is at

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[63]Compare with Carondelet to McGillivray, December 14, 1792, in Caughey, *McGillivray,* 349-50.

[64]A.G.I., P.C., 2374.

[65]A reference to the peace mission of Rufus Putnam in the summer of 1793. See Putnam to the Kaskaskia and Peoria Indians . . ., in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 78.

[66]Parentheses and brackets by Wilkinson.

present uncertain, because no calculation, can be made on the Conduct of a democratical assembly.—

I have been told that your Heart, has been caught by some fair American,[67] if so, permit me to put up my Prayers for your mutual & unceasing Bliss & to offer to the Wife of my Friend, my m[ost] affectionate & most respectful homage. I take the Liberty to Send you a new English Dictionary,[68] Which may, I hope prove ussful to you, & I beg leave to recommend it in preference to that Which I formerly had the Honor to present you—

When the War in which I am engaged is terminated, I shall solicit leave to pay you a visit, in the meantime permit me to recommend the Bearer Mr. Gano,[69] to your good offices, [as He?] is a Man of Integrity, in whose welfare I take a strong Interest—your Kindness to Him will be gratefully acknowledged by Him who ever will be your true & affectionate Friend

Ja Wilkinson

Governor Gayoso—

[Translation]

GAYOSO TO CARONDELET, NATCHEZ, DECEMBER 25,1792[70]

No. 223.

Today at three in the afternoon there arrived the Mulatto Slave John of Colonel Gilbert Antoine de St. Maxent,[71] and delivered to me your letter of the 18th of this month, not having been able to be more prompt, he told me, on account of the bad condition of the roads and his difficulty in crossing Streams.

When said Messenger arrived I had just dispatched a few hours before a Batteau from Illinois to that Capital, which by chance had not yet left; I sent for the Captain and had him bring me all the correspondence which he was carrying to you, which I opened, according to the privilege which you gave me, and by the contents of two letters from Don Tomas Portell[72] I am informed of the news that he had received from Kentucky as well as from the person he sent there; likewise, from Dr. Watters,[73] a person whom I am informed is a good man.

I find that the Individual that the said Commandant sent to Kentucky did not go beyond Louisville, and that there he acquired the news that he communicated, which does not change my mind from the opinion that I expressed to you today confidentially, for what Colonel Barbe[74] tells me is more likely, and you can question him within two weeks when he goes to New Orleans.

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[67]Presumably Miss Margaret Watts, daughter of a Natchez planter whom Gayoso married in 1797.

[68]A hint that Wilkinson was going to send confidential letters in cipher, as he had been doing with the use of dictionaries between 1787 and 1790. The perpetual intriguer was trying to get his hand in again. Being on the Spanish pension list for $2,000 a year, Wilkinson must have thought it was time to be doing something more to earn it. Strangely enough, Carondelet was taken in. James Ripley Jacobs, *Tarnished Warrior: Major-General James Wilkinson* (New York, 1938), 128-29.

[69]Captain Daniel Gano came to Kentucky with Wilkinson and helped him settle Frankfort. R. H. Collins, *History of Kentucky,* 2 vols. (Louisville, 1924), II, 707.

[70]A.G.I., P.C., 41.

[71]For earlier data in these papers on Col. St. Maxent see *Publications,* No. 11 (1939), 79, 79n.

[72]Commandant at New Madrid.

[73]Waters to Portell, September 20, 1792, printed in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 84-86.

[74]This seems to be a reference to Colonel Thomas L. Barbee, later brigadier general of Kentucky volunteers under General Anthony Wayne. *Filson Club Quarterly,* XXVII, No. 5 (July, 1953), 278.

I am sorry that Fagot's[75] loquaciousness has implicated you; he must have talked too much, if you had entrusted something to him he should under no circumstances have mentioned your name. In this connection he referred me to the Letter of Dr. Watters which Portell is sending you; as much through it as through what Portell says in his letter about the English Colonel,[76] it can be inferred pretty clearly that in Kentucky nothing bad is contemplated against this Province, nor can I persuade myself that Congress contemplates anything either, without first investigating from Capital to Capital, for an insult like that would ruin completely their Sea Trade which today and for years to come, will be more important to the United States than the Navigation of the Mississippi. Only it might happen that a band of vagabonds would get together and come down the River hostilly, but even this I do not believe, and if it should come to pass, with the forces that I have, and with the reenforcements of Galleys which you have offered me, I assure you I will keep them from molesting this Province. In spite of the confidence I have, I do not say that it would not be wise and necessary to be prepared and cautious; but you need not have the least uneasiness.

Although I had questioned the Captain of the Batteau from Illinois carefully, I examined him again as to whether he had seen any Settlements on the banks of the Mississippi between Chickasaw Bluffs and Walnut Hills, trying to find out just what hours he had navigated in case he had missed the Settlements at night, but the said Batteau having arrived at Walnut Hills at nightfall, it was not possible for him to have failed to see such settlements in the twenty leagues above Walnut Hills; the said Captain assured me that he did not see any Settlement from the said Bluffs to Walnut Hills, and even from what he told me, as well as from what I already know, it is not possible to make a Settlement on the Banks of the Mississippi in that stretch, and only below Arkansaw is there one lone point at which a Settlement might be made, but not even there did he see one, and it was not likely that they have tried to make one.

The Cherokees are still here and I shall inform them of your wish, nevertheless, without frightening them with the assertion that it is true that fifteen hundred men are about to march against their Nation, but rather that until now there is no such thing happening.

In the quickest manner possible I shall send your Talk to Piomingo, and I shall also write to Hardy Perry[77] so that he may help decide the matter.

When the Cherokees and Red Shoes leave here I shall inform you of the results of our conferences, assuring you for the present that the said Cherokees keep what they have promised you, awaiting in everything the will of His Majesty.

I have ordered my Volunteers retired from the Frontier, sure that the Creeks have returned without mishap.

In order not to delay without urgent reason the Batteau in which this letter

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[75]Andre Fagot had gone to Cumberland earlier in the year to get damages for property he had lost in an American raid on an Indian village in which he had some trading goods. He was reported as telling Carondelet about warlike preparations by the Americans, which led Carondelet to send arms and ammunition to the Indians with hints that they attack Kentucky and Cumberland. For a summary of the rumors and counter rumors see "Report from Kaskaskia, December 15, 1792," in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Miss. Valley,* III, 102-03.

[76]The English colonel in question has not been identified.

[77]On February 8, 1793, Hardy Perry turned in a bill for entertaining Ballew and the Indians who accompanied him through the Choctaw and Chickasaw country. The statement of account and certification of payment from the New Orleans treasury are in A.G.I., P.C., 208 (photostat in the McClung Collection).

goes, I will beg you to excuse me for not going into other matters, but keep them for another occasion.

I enclose the six letters which came from Illinois, and New Madrid, which the Sergeant as well as the Captain of the Boat, who were charged with their delivery, would not have given them to me without assurance that it was according to your orders.

The Mulatto messenger is returning by the same conveyance.

May the Lord keep Your Lordship many years, December 25, 1792.

Manuel Gayoso de Lemos

Señor Baron de Carondelet.

EARLY EAST TENNESSEE TAXPAYERS

Compiled by Pollyanna Creekmore

V. Jefferson County, 1800[1]

Jefferson County was created by an ordinance of the Territory South of the River Ohio, on June 11, 1792, and named in honor of Thomas Jefferson, then secretary of state.[2] The land was taken from Greene and Hawkins counties. Jefferson County has been partitioned in the creation of Sevier County in 1794,[3] and 1797 when Cocke County was created out of Jefferson and Greene.[4] The territorial limits remained virtually the same from 1797 to 1870, when Hamblen County was created out of Jefferson and Grainger counties.[5]

Upon its creation Jefferson County was a part of Washington District, but on March 12, 1793, along with Knox County, it was made a part of the newly-created Hamilton District.[6]

The first court was held at the home of Jeremiah Matthews on July 23, 1792. The following justices, appointed by Governor William Blount, were present: Alexander Outlaw, James Roddye, John Blackburn, James Lea, Joseph Wilson, Josiah Wilson, Andrew Henderson, Amos Balch and William Cox.[7] The first county officials, also appointed by Governor Blount, who qualified for office were: Joseph Hamilton, clerk; Robert McFarland, sheriff; James Roddye, register, and Robert McCamon, William Job, Robert Pollock (Polk), Josiah Rogers, John Renno (Reneau), Stephen Wolsey and Barsdill Riddle, constables. The lawyers who qualified to practice were: Luke

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[1]For the introduction to this series see East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 23 (1951), 115-16. Previous installments have been: I, Anderson County, 1802, in No. 23; II, Blount County, 1801, in No. 24; III, Knox County, 1806, in No. 25; IV, Grainger County, 1799, in No. 27.

[2]George Roulstone (comp.), *Laws of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1803), iv-v.

[3]*Ibid.*, 38-39.

[4]*Ibid.*, 124-26.

[5]Henry D. Whitney (comp. and ed.), *The Land Laws of Tennessee . . .* (Chattanooga, 1891), 870-71. The Grainger County tax lists were published in ETHS *Publications* No. 27 (1955), 97-119.

[6]Roulstone, *Laws*, vi.

[7]Jefferson County Minutes of Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions (Courthouse, Dandridge). There are indexed, typewritten copies in the Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, and University of Tennessee Library, Knoxville; for record of official appointments by Governor Blount, see Clarence E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, IV, *The Territory South of the River Ohio*, 1790-1796 (Washington, 1936), *passim*, also *The Blount Journal, 1790-1796 . . .* (Nashville, 1955).

Bowyer, William Cocke, John Rhea, Alexander Outlaw, James Reese, Archibald Roane and Hopkins Lacy.

Dandridge, the county seat, was not laid out until the next year, when at the January term, 1793, the court appointed Alexander Outlaw, George Doherty, Garrett Fitzgerald, Andrew Henderson, and Hugh Kelso to locate the site.[8] The commissioners selected the site near Robert Henderson's meeting house (Hopewell Presbyterian Church) on the French Broad River. Fifty acres of land were donated by Francis Dean; the town was laid off by Samuel Jack and named in honor of Martha Dandridge, wife of President George Washington.

While Jefferson County was established in 1792, the earliest extant tax lists are those of 1800. After Tennessee became a state in 1796, a new act was passed October 25, 1797,[9] authorizing the counties to tax property and specifying types of property taxable and the method of taking them. White polls consisted of "all free males and male servants between the age of twenty-one and fifty years"; slaves, "all slaves male and female between the age of twelve and fifty years." The justices were ordered to take the lists in the militia captains' companies and return them to court. The clerk usually transcribed them into a book kept for that purpose.

The Jefferson County minutes for 1800 appear fragmentary; in all probability pages were misplaced before the book was rebound. No orders for taking the tax lists of 1800 can be located; neither can the record of their return nor the order setting the rates for that year.

The following lists were copied from the original manuscript lists many years ago, and the latter cannot today be located. The copy was published by Mrs. Penelope Johnson Allen, in her "Leaves from the Family Tree," in the *Chattanooga Times,* February 7, 14, 21, 1937. This reprinting is made possible through the permission of Mrs. Allen and the *Chattanooga Times.*

The next available tax lists for Jefferson County, covering the years 1822-1830, are available in the County Court Clerk's Office, Dandridge, and typewritten copies are among those records transcribed by the Tennessee Historical Records Survey, available in the Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, and the University of Tennessee Library, Knoxville. Besides transcribing the county records, the His-

[8]Minutes, Jan. 31, 1793.
[9]Roulstone, *Laws,* 114-20.

torical Records Survey copied many Bible and tombstone inscriptions in Jefferson County.

Except for the tax lists and a few other loose papers, there is no known destruction of Jefferson County records by fire or otherwise. The deeds were reindexed by the Tennessee Valley Authority when land was acquired for the basins of Douglas and Cherokee Dams.

Key to column numbers

[1] Acres
[2] White polls
[3] Black polls
[4] Town lots

TAXABLE PROPERTY IN CAPT. CARSON'S COMPANY

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Ashmore, Hezekiah		1		
Ashley, Noah		1		
Bradford, Henry		1		1
Braner, Michael	450	1	1	
Blackburn, John	760	3		
Blackburn, William		1		
Balch, John	115	1		
Barnes, James		1		
Berry, John		1		
Berry, Robert	400	1		
Bogas, Bennett				1
Baker, Joseph				1
Bryan, William				1
Conner, Joseph		1		1
Cresswell, Henry	100	1		
Cofman, Isaac	60	1		1
Campbell, James	100	1		
Carson, Robert	360	1		
Clark, Samuel		1		
Coons, Michael, Senr.	288			
Coons, Michael, Junr.	192	1		
Carson, Samuel	100	1		
Carson, John, Senr.	80			
Carson, David		1		
Carson, John, Junr.		1		
Cotter, Stephen	100	1		
Cowan, James				1
Collinsworth, Coventon				4
Cavander, Alexander				1
Carter, Samuel		1		
Corbett, Elizabeth	200			
Coffee, James	90			
Doherty, James	200	1		2

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Davis, Nicholas	150	1	1	
Davis, James		1	1	
Duncan, Craven		1		
Doherty, George	300	1	4	1
Dean, John				6
Dean, Benjamin		1		
Ellis, John	50	1		
Adgar, Andrew	125	1		
Elliott, William	150	1		
Forbis, Thomas		1		
Frazer, Hugh	250	1		
Ferrill, James		1		
Gentry, Martin		1		
Grisham, Richard	150			
Gibbons, Patrick	300			
Greene, John		1		1
Guess, Samuel	100	1		
Grisham, Ezekial		1		
Gentry, Robert	220		2	
Gist, William		1		
Grisham, Thompson		1		
Galbreith, Thomas	200	1		
George, Edward	300	1	1	4
Gentry, Bartlett	100	1		
Graham, George	160	1	2	
Grier, John				1
Henderson, John	100	1		
Hallaway, John, Senator	100			
Hallaway, John, Jr.		1		
Hays, John		1	2	
Henry, William	137	1		
Haggard, Henry		1		
Henderson, Andrew	475	1	2	
Henderson, Robert	250	1	2	
Hoskins, William	200	1		
Hickman, Francis	400	1		1
Hibbert, Jedidiah		1		
Humes, Thomas				2
Hickman, Benjamin		1		
Jones, Jones, Jr.		1		
Johnson, Samuel	400			
Johnson, William		1		
Inman, Abednego	457		4	3
Kelso, Hugh	1045	1		1
Kelso, Alexander	266	1	2	1
Kerr, Andrew	200			
Kerr, David	200			
Kimbro, Jesse	100	1	1	
Lewis, Andrew, by John Hays	640			
Lyle, Samuel	245			
Lyle, David	320	1		

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Martin, Hugh		1		1
McFarlin, John		1		
McFarland, Benjamin	1167		5	1
McGuire, Patrick	450			
McGirt, John	215			1
Morrow, William	335		3	
McAdoo, Andrew	100			
McCuistian, Joseph		1		
McCuistian, James, Sen.	200			
McCuistian, James, Jr.	200	1		
McCuistian, Andrew	150	1		
McSpadden, Esther	300		1	
Neilson, Andrew	150	1		
Nicholson, Jeremiah		1		
Rinehart, Michael	300	1		
Odle, Jonathan		1		
Outlaw, Alexander				1
Price, Ralph		1		
Prigmore, Joseph	600			
Piles, Jesse				1
Randolph, Sarah	400		2	
Rankin, Thomas, Jr.	200	1		
Rankin, Thomas, Senator	250			
Rankin, Richard	610	1		
Russell, James	361	1		
Sterling, John, Senator	180			
Sterling, James		1		
Shadden, Thomas		1		
Shadden, Alexander	210	1		
Sterling, William	100	1		
Sterling, Daniel		1		
Shields, William		1		
Scott, James	300			
Shadden, James, Jr.		1		
Shadden, William		1		
Sample, Moses	400			
Sample, Mathew		1		
Stringer, Edward		1		
Taylor, James		1	1	1
Thomas, William		1		
Talbot, Parry		1		1
Thompson, John		1		
Witt, Joseph	160	1		
Willson, Adam	400	1	2	1
Willson, John		1		
Whitman, David		1		
Willson, William		1		
Willcockson, George				1
Vandyke, Freeman		1		
Total amount	19,663	97	39	44

TAXABLE PROPERTY IN CAPT. HARMON'S COMPANY

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Alley, Edward		1		
Baker, John		1		
Brown, David		1		
Bradshaw, Samuel	630			
Bratcher, Charles	100	1	1	
Bran, John		1		
Bowman, Jacob	125	1	1	
Bradshaw, William	245	1		
Bradshaw, James	400	1		
Buzby, Thomas	800			
Churchman, John	125	1		
Conner, Richard		1		
Churchman, William	130	2		
Cuckey, Zacariah		1		
Canady, John, Sr.	400	2		
Canady, Charles	200	1		
Canady, John, Jr.		1		
Canady, Porter		1		
Cluck, John		1		
Cluck, Peter		1		
Campbell, George W.	640			
Dennison, John		1		
Edwards, Laben	88	1		
Edwards, Henry		1		
Elmore, David		1		
Greenley, John		1		
Greer, Thomas		1	1	
Grace, Richard	200	1		
Helton, William		1		
Harmon, Lewis	270	1	1	
Harmon, Christopher	185			
Harmon, Jacob	60	1	1	
Hayworth, Stephen		1		
Hornback, John, Sr.	500		3	
Hanes, Christopher	8,000	1	6	
Hanes, John	600			
Hinkle, George	130	1		
Longacre, John	427	1		
Longacre, Benjamin	397	1		
Medley, James		1		
McDonald, David		1		
Mason, Reuben	105			
Mendinghall, Jos'h	200	1		
Mendinghall, Mordica, Jr.		1		
Mendinghall, Mordica		1		
Mendinghall, Mordica, Sr.	400			
Newman, Jonathan		1		
Owens, Joseph		1		
Pope, Jahue	400	1		
Rankins, James		1		

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Ricketts, Able		1		
Reese, James	670		7	
Rankins, Samuel	250	1		
Rhea, John		1		
Riley, John		1		
Redwell, Charles		1		
Sutherand, David	570			
Smith, John	200			
Snuffer, John		1		
Thompson, William	250	1		
William, Littleton		1		
West, Samuel	147	1		
Woodard, Aron	320	1		
Woodard, Joseph	320	1		
Williams, Arthur			1	
Williams, Joseph		1		
Jackson, Samuel	5,000			
Johnson, Enus	100	1		
Total	23,584	57	23	

TAXABLE PROPERTY IN CAPT. HODGES COMPANY

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Adamson, Simon	75			
Adamson, John	132	1		
Adamson, Jonathan	63	1		
Beeson, Amariah	200	1		
Baker, James	312	1	1	
Beeson, Thomas	110	1		
Bawldin, Henry			1	
Bullard, Martha	500		2	
Bailey, Richard			1	
Balinger, Lydia	63			
Campbell, John	15			
Clift, James		1		
Cambel, Duncan	150	1		
Davis, John	66	1		
Duncan, John		1		
Dean, Francis	312			
Dean, William	116			
Dick, Henry		1		
Davidson, James	150	1		
Dickerson, Francis		1		
Davis, Robert	164	1		
Evans, James		1		
Ellis, Nehemiah	100	1		
Ellis, Jehu		1		
Frazer, Moses	150	1		
Frazer, William		1		
Goodson, Joseph		1		
Gibson, Garret	110	1		
Green, Joseph	60	1		

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Glass, John		1		
Hasket, John		1		
Hodges, Charles	800	1	3	
Hammuck, Isaac	400	1		
Hickman, James		1		
Hincha, William	300	1		
Jackson, Nathan		1		
Johnston, William		1		
King, John		1		
Kenady, Rebecah	200			
Kenady, Henry	250	1		
Lewis, Evan	295	1		
Lake, William	200	1		
Line, William	300	1		
Lamor, James		1		
Murrel, Banjamin	300	1		
Mendinghall, Stephen		1		
Mendinghall, Martin	66	1		
Mills, William	316	1		
Myers, John		1		
Mills, Richard	125	1		
Mills, Jacob		1		
McGee, Richard	100	1		
Mills, John, Sr.	200	1		
McGee, John	100	1		
Mills, Samuel	160	1		
Mills, John, Sr.	200	1		
McCullah, Joseph	600		1	
Mills, William		1		
Mills, Asa		1		
Morgan, William		1		
Menley, David		1		
Phillips, Edmond	43	1		
Poage, Robert		1		
Roach, Jordan	500	1	2	
Roberts, John		1		
Rearden, Thomas	320		1	
Ruth, Samuel	110	1		
Ruth, William	200	1		
Ritchey, William	90	1		
Summers, William	140			
Shields, John, Sr.	400			
Shields, John, Jr.		1		
Shields, William		1		
Smith, Thomas		1		
Swain, Elisha	150	1		
Thornbery, Thomas	100	1		
Thornbury, Joseph	175			
Thornbury, Henry, Sr.	270			
Thornbury, Henry, Jr.		1		
Thornbery, Richard	100	1		

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Turner, Robert	140			
Turner, John	125	1		
Turner, Walter	287	1		
Thornbery, Joel		1		
Vance, James	100	1		
Vance, John	100	1		
Walker, Richard	50	1		
Williams, Allen	117	1		
Wright, Nathan	300	1		
Yell, Moses	568		3	
Meek, Adam	850	1	4	
Goodson, William	1,000	1		
Total	14,269	80	17	

TAXABLE PROPERTY IN CAPT. LANE'S COMPANY

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Boyles, David		1		
Britton, Benjamin	100	1		
Britton, James	50	1		
Barton, Isaac	285			
Cude, John	155	1		
Cofman, David	450	1	1	
Cofman, Lovel		1		
Carmichel, James	600		3	
Dyer, William		1		
Day, Jesse	340	1		
Day, Levi		1		
Filpot, Timothy		1		
Forrice, James	100	1		
Gregg, Isaac		1		
Green, Francis	200			
Horner, George	80	1		
Horner, William	437			
Howard, John, Sr.	203			
Hoskins, Jesse	340			
Haile, Jonathan		1		
Howard, John, Jr.		1		
Haile, William	200		1	
Irwin, George	320	2		
Kerkpatrick, Hugh	160	1		
Kerkpatrick, David		1		
Kerkpatrick, James		1		
Kerkpatrick, Jacob	370	1		
Lane, Tidence, Sr.	350		1	
Lane, Richard		1		
Lane, Tidence, Jr.	200	1		
Lane, Aquila	321	1	1	
Lathan, John		1		
Lea, Major		1		
Latham, Samuel		1		
McDonald, Alexander, Jr.		1		

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
McDonald, Alexander, Sr.	350			
Nanney, Patrick, Ex.	375	3		
Pangle, Frederick	300	1		
Pangle, John	100	1		
Parkes, Joseph		1		
Parkes, William	330			
Porter, Charles T.	600	1	6	
Rue, Lewis		1		
Roddy, James	1,017		4	
Riddle, Zacariah		1		
Tosh, Martin		1		
White, Samuel	521	1		
White, Thomas		1		
Lea, James	800	1	3	
Total	9,654	40	21	

TAXABLE PROPERTY IN CAPT. TURNER'S COMPANY

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Brigs, John	250	1		
Brian, Thomas	150	1		
Cales, James	100	1		
Denton, John		1		
Ellice, Lewis	100	1		
Hunter, Samuel	100			
Hunter, George		1		
Hill, William		1		
Hill, Joseph	150			
Jones, David	200	1		
Inman, William H.	100			
Layman, Joseph	100	1		
Lively, Jacob	250	1		
Layman, Daniel		1		
Leeth, Ebenezer, Esquire	400	1	2	
Leaman, David	100			
McGuire, Cornelius	500			
McGuire, George		1		
McGuire, Isaac		1		
Melcom, George	200	1		
Montgomery, William		1		
McMeans, Isaac	100	1		
Nave, John	200	1	1	
Oneal, Benjamin	100	2		
Parkey, Jacob	250	1		
Russell, David	125	1	3	
Roan, John	200	1		
Renau, George		1		
Slover, Abraham	300			
Slover, Aron		1		
Slover, Abraham, Jr.		1		
Terrel, Benjamin		1		
Turner, James	60	1		

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Taff, Peter	100	1		
Taff, George	100	1		
Thomas, Griffith	100	1		
Vanhook, Aron	150			
Webb, Jesse	150	1		
Wilson, Daniel		1		
Walters, John	100	1		
Wilson, James	150		1	
Wiley, Alexander		1	1	
Total	5,045	36	8	

TAXABLE PROPERTY IN CAPT. McSPADDEN'S COMPANY

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Brown, William		1		
Bernet, Michael	302	1		
Brewer, Oliver		1		
Callahan, William	100	1		
Carter, Nathaniel	100			
Cowan, James		1		
Cannon, Joseph		1		
Cannon, Caleb		1		
Cannon, John	100			
Callahan, Charles	300			
Cate, Charles		1		
Cate, Charles, Sr.	350			
Cate, John, Jr.	100	1		
Cate, John	277	1		
Cate, William	250	1		
Edmond, John		1		
Gaut, John	200	1		
George, Silas	740			
Harvey, John		1		
Hopper, Charles	125	1		
Holaway, William	250	1		
Leath, Joseph		1		
Leeth, George		1		
Lawrence, James		1		
Laudermilk, George		1		
Morgan, Richard	400			
Moor, James		1		
Land, Newman	950			
McLand, Joseph		1		
McDonald, Walter	212	1	1	
Manerd, James	200	1		
McSpadden, Samuel	300	1	3	
Molder, John	100	1		
Molder, Polly	70	1		
Morgan, Silas		1		
Mickle, Banser	100	1		
Moon, Joseph	200			
Moon, Nathaniel		1		

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Mitchel, John		1	1	
McCulle, John		1		
Molder, Henry		1		
McClester, William		1		
Moon, Daniel	100	1		
Mathews, Jeremiah	780	1	1	
Newman, Isaac	400	1	1	
Penn, Richard	100	1		
Potterfield, Richard	30	1		
Patton, Robert	110	1		
Patton, Thomas	150	1		
Patton, John		1		
Rodgers, George		1		
Reno, Thomas		1		
Sellers, John	350	1		
Smith, Thomas	278	1		
Thorp, John	196	1		
Stephenson, Robert		1		
Shenall, Isaac	291	1		
Seeburn, John	174	1		
Seeburn, Edward	350			
Stephenson, Edward	150	1		
Thompson, James	100	1		
Vanhuser, Falts	190	1		
Vanhuser, John	300			
Whitthell, Adam	160			
Total	9,934	45	9	

TAXABLE PROPERTY IN CAPT. McDONALD'S COMPANY

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Anderson, Joseph	475			
Austin, Archibald		1		
Allen, Benjamin		1		
Anderson, James		1		
Bates, Mathew	75	1		
Black, John		1		
Cooper, Jacob	100			
Campbell, William	423			
Currey, Isaac	143	1		
Cox, William	100	1		
Chamberlain, Jeremiah	400			
Cofman, James		1		
Davis, Benjamin	273		5	
Dallace, Joshua	50	1		
Doggett, Miller	200			
Davis, David		1	1	
Davis, William		1		
Driskill, Mahal		1		
Earls, Frederick		1		
Ford, John	100	1		
Goin, Daniel	100	1		

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Guthry, Alexander	300	1		
Evans, Jacob	40	1		
Goen, Daniel		1		
Goen, William		1		
Goen, Ezekial	100	1		
Gentry, Ayrs		1		
Howard, Alex'r		1		
Hamilton, Joseph	4,650	1	4	
Harrison, James	200			
Harrison, Benjamin	316		4	
Harrison, William		1		
Hargrave, Benj.		1		
Hargrave, Eli		1		
House, William	100			
Hargrove, Joseph		1		
Harper, Thomas		1		
Jackson, Josiah	315	1	4	
Johnson, William	150			
Irwin, Samuel		1		
Inman, Shedrick	300		3	
Kelly, Isaac		1		
Kelly, Jacob		1	2	
Keith, James		1		
Keith, Nicholas		1		
Keith, James		1		
Lyon, James		1		
McFarland, Robert	400	1	3	
Morris, Jean	675		1	
Morris, John		1	1	
McDonald, John	300	1		
McDonald, James	150	1		
Majors, Abner	100	1		
McClister, James	200	1		
Melona, John	75	1		
Outlaw, Alexander	1,040		8	
Pope, John	75	1		
Riggs, Clisby	250	1		
Riggs, Edward	100			
Rorax, William		1		
Reams, John		1		
Shanks, Nicholas		1		
Sutton, John		1		
Thomas, Peter	100	1		
Webb, George		1		
Willson, Jacob	150			
Willson, Abner		1		
Willson, Isaac		1		
Totals for the company	12,488	51	36	

TAXABLE PROPERTY IN CAPTAIN COPELAND'S COMPANY

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Adams, James		1		
Carter, Vincent		1		
Cunningham, James	100	1		
Combs, Job	150	1		
Copeland, Soloman	300	1		
Copeland, Rickets	340	1		
Cowan, Jane	300			
Cowan, John	100	1		
Copeland, Stephen	700			
Copeland, Zacheus	250	1		
Collins, John	200			
Collins, Edward	200	1		
Cannon, Abner		1		
Dobbins, Reuben	150	1	1	
Denton, Jacob, Senr.	75			
Denton, Jacob, Junr.	100	1		
Denton, Joseph		1		
Denton, Jacob	200	1		
Evans, John B. by John H.	6,480			
Fout, Jacob	300	1		
Fitzsimmons, Thos. by G. D.				
Griffin, William	150	1		
Graham, George	200			
Gore, Ambrose	100	1		
Giger, George	250			
Geiger, John		1		
Holman, Peter by G. S.	640			
Hughes, Aaron	320			
Hughes, John	300	1		
Hill, John		1	2	
Jones, Thomas	12			
Kenny, John	67			
Lewis, Amos, Jr.		1		
Lowry, Samuel, Sr.	100	1		
Lowry, Samuel Jr.,		1		
Loury, Adam	100			
Loury, James	100	1		
Lough, Jacobs		1		
Loury, Robert	100	1		
Lewis, Jacob	50	1		
Lewis, George	300			
Lewis, William		1		
Lewis, Amos, Sr.	300			
Long, Moses		1		
Moore, William		1		
Moore, John	227		1	
McClamahan, William	238			
McClanahan, Alexander	237	1		
McRoberts, Samuel		1		
Maples, William		1		

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Osburn, Soloman	50	1		
Pewit, Joel		1		
Roberts, George		1		
Runyon, Freeman		1		
Roberts, Phillips	100			
Roulstone, Mathew	350			
Roulstone, Moses		1		
Roulstone, William		1		
Seehorn, Gabriel		1		
Sweney, James C.		1		
Sweney, Joseph Mc.		1		
Swan, Samuel	125	1	1	
Swingle, George	2,500	1		
Seehorn, John	550			
Swaney, John		1		
Sexton, William		1		
Swingle, John	200			
Taylor, Parmenas	390	1	1	
Turnley, George	75	1		
Thomas, John	100	1		
Turnley, John	75			
Vincent, Thomas		1		
Winton, William	100	1		
Wright, Isaac		1	1	
Wright, Robert		1		
Total for the district	17,901	53	7	

TAXABLE PROPERTY IN CAPT. DAMERON'S COMPANY

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Burns, Isaac	250			
Beavers, William	200			
Burns, James		1		
Bryan, John		1		
Butcher, Samuel		1		
Brittain, William	150	1		
Cheek, William	200			
Cheek, Willson	100	1		
Cheek, Jesse	360			
Day, Nathaniel	400			
Day, John	100			
Dameron, Joseph	575	3	2	
Donaldson, William	200	1		
Donaldson, Andrew	100	1		
Dameron, Christopher		1		
Evans, George, Esq.	700	2	4	
Fillpot, Joseph		1		
George, Reuben		1		
Huffman, John		1		
Holdaway, Timothy	300			
Hodges, Edmond	200	1		
Howard, James		1		

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Hatter, Michael	200	1		
Hatter, Phillip	200	1		
Hogget, Soloman		1		
Laymon, Jacob		1		
McFarland, James	250	1		
McGhee, James	150	1		
Majors, Absolom		1		
Majors, Peter		1		
Murphy, David	100	1		
Petty, William		1		
Ryon, Henry		1		
Reddish, William		1		
Shelly, Nathan		1		
Stanbough, Jacob	70	1		
Trotter, James		1	1	
Weaver, Adam	100			
Weaver, George	200	1		
Total for the district	4,745	37	8	

TAXABLE PROPERTY IN CAPT. JAMES FANSHER'S COMPANY

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Bradford, Benjamin		1	1	
Brown, George	100	1		
Brown, Claiborne	200	1		
Boyd, William	200	1		
Brumit, Owen		1		
Bane, Robert		1		
Chamberlain, Ninian	808		1	
Carson, Mary	200			
Carson, John		1		
Carson, James		1		
Cox, John	87	1		
Cox, Solomon	450	1		
Cox, Henry	60		1	
Cox, William	145	1		
Cannon, Thomas	100	1	1	
Cluck, Henry	100			
Dickin, Thomas	100	1		
Ellis, James	230	1		
Edgar, George	700			
Edgar, Alexander		1		
Edwards, John		1		
Fansher, James		1		
Ford, John	100			
Gordon, George	1,500			
Gray, Jacob		1		
Grissom, Robert		1		
Hunter, James	150	1		
Hill, Robert	200	1		
Hill, Daniel,	190	1	1	
Hill, Samuel, Sr.	289		2	

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Hill, Samuel, Jr.	108	1		
Hill, Abraham	75	1		
Hill, Hill			2	
Howard, Henry	60	1		
Henderson, David	140	1		
Havens, James	100	1		
Havens, John	200	1		
Harrison, John	200		2	
Jarman, John	100	1		
Jarnigan, Thomas	785		7	
Jenings, William		1		
Knabb, Jacob	850			
Love, William	100	1		
Lerue, Abraham	200	1		
Langdon, Joseph	200	1		
Mays, William	500			
McMullen, Thomas		1		
McClanahan, David	200	1		
McClanahan, Robert		1		
Morrow, John	150			
Moyers, Christopher	200			
Moyers, David	200	1		
Moyers, James	200	1		
Moyers, Joshua		1		
Maxwell, John	100			
Neely, John	300			
Neely, Andrew	200	1		
Neely, James		1		
Patton, Samuel	275	1		
Randolph, Henry		1		
Ritchey, Robert	115			
Ritchey, Joseph		1		
Snoddy, Thomas Esq.	200	1	1	
Skeen, John	200	1		
Snodgrass, William	250			
Snodgrass, Robert		1		
Snodgrass, David		1		
Shelton, Thomas	150		2	
Witt, Elijah	400		3	
Witt, Joseph		1		
Witt, Noah		1		
Witt, Ayers		1		
White, Westley	110			
Total for the district	12,777	52	24	

TAXABLE PROPERTY IN CAPT. WILLIAM BRAZELTON'S COMPANY

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Brevert, John		1		
Boyd, James		1		
Brazelton, John		1		

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Bennet, Jessy	100	2		
Ballenger, Moses	150	1		
Beard, Patrick	400	1		
Brazelton, Samuel		1		
Brazelton, Will	370	1	1	
Brazelton, William, Sr.	448			
Caldwell, Alexander		1		
Cox, Dudley		1		
Clerk, George	136	1		
Campbell, James	380	1	1	
Combs, John	500		2	
Coppock, James	237	1		
Coppock, Isaha	111	2		
Coppock, Thomas	210	1		
Caldwell, William	672	1	1	
Cox, William	450		3	
Caldwell, Anthony	280	1		
Duncan, Jere		1		
Doherty, Joseph	200			
Doherty, Joseph, Jr.		1		
Doherty, William		1		
Elmore, Joel	188	1		
Ellis, William		1		
Edward, Joshua		1		
Frazor, Abner		1		
Greer, John	70	1		
Garden, Parish		1		
Hunicut, Joseph		1		
Haworth, James		1		
Haworth, Richard	622	1		
Haworth, Willi		1		
Johnston, John	300			
Jones, Thomas	263	1		
Jackson, Samuel	5,000			
Lacey, William	150	1		
Meire, James		1		
Miles, John	200	1		
Maples, James		1		
Margraves, John		1		
Maulsby, William	300	1		
Murphy, William		1		
Montgomery, Michael	200	1		
McClung, Charles	10,000			
Newman, Aaron	180	1		
Neal, Benjamin	630		3	
Noradyke, Isariel	150	1		
Newman, James	310	1		
Noradyke, Micaja	200	1		
Newman, James		1		
Peek, Adam	2,230	1	2	
Rees, William	250	1	2	

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Rector, Maximilien		1		
Ruelle, Samuel	252	1		
Rees, Thomas		1		
Smith, Deborah	100			
Shelly, Jeremiah	119	1		
Sellardt, Nathan	139	1		
Sellardt, Samuel		1		
Thornburg, Benjamin	190	1		
Tucker, James	200	1		
Tucker, John		1		
Woodward, Abraham	170	1		
Williams, David		1		
Wright, Edward	170	1		
Wright, Isaac	185	2		
Williams, John	150	1		
Woodward, William	131	1		
Wright, Joshua	100	1		
Williams, Benjamin		1		
Totals for the district	28,633	65	14	

ADDITIONAL LIST OF HODGES COMPANY

Gardner, Obediah		1		
Hankins, Richard	500	1		
Hankins, Edward		1		
Hankins, Thomas		1		
King, Mary			3	
Rains, John		1		
Vance, John	100			
Willson, Abraham	63	1		

ADDITIONAL LIST RETURNED JULY TERM

Witt, Caleb	400	1		
Majors, Thomas	128			
McBroom, William	250			
McPeetur, Joseph		1		

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Compiled by Pollyanna Creekmore

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Folmsbee, Stanley J. William Blount, governor of the Southwest territory. (Tenn. teacher. Mag. '55. v. 22: 6-9.)

Foreman, Carolyn Thomas. The lost Cherokee treaty. (Chron. of Okla. Summer, '55. v. 33: 238-45.)

Fox, William L. Corporal Harvey W. Wiley's Civil War diary. (Indiana mag. of hist. June '55. v. 51: 139-62.)

Friend, Llerena. Sam Houston, the great designer. Austin, Texas, Univ. of Texas press, 1954. xiv, 394 p. $6.00.

Gara, Lara, ed. Teaching freedmen in the post-war South. (Jour. of Negro hist. July '55.)

Garland, Ruth W. Tales told in Lincoln county, Tennessee. (Tenn. folklore soc. bul. Mar. '55. v. 21: 11-13.)

Going, Allen J. A shooting affray in Knoxville with interstate repercussions: the killing of James H. Clanton by David M. Nelson, 1871. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 27: 39-48.)

Graebner, Norman A. Empire on the Pacific. New York, Ronald press company, 1955. xi, 278 p. $4.50.

Green, E. R. R. The "strange humors" that drove the Scotch-Irish to America, 1729. (Wm. and Mary qr. Jan. '55. ser. 3, v. 12: 113-23.)

Harder, Kelsie. Beliefs and customs in Perry county, Tennessee. (Tenn. folklore soc. bul. Mar. '55. v. 21:9-10.)

Harder, Kelsie. Rhyming names in Tennessee. (Sou. folklore qr. June '55. v. 19: 101-03.)

Harkness, David J. Cumberland Gap in literature. (Southern observer. Apr. '55. v. 3: 107-15.)

Haskins, Ralph W. Planter and cotton factor in the old South: some areas of friction. (Agric. hist. Jan. '55.)

Hatcher, Mildred. Superstitions in middle Tennessee. (Sou. folklore qr. Sept. '55. v. 19: 150-55.)

Hill, Raymond S. Memphis theatre, 1836-1846. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 9: 48-58.)

Hill, Richard H., ed. Callaway family data. (Filson Club hist. qr. Oct. '55. v. 29: 331-38.)

Holly, J. Fred and Mabry, B. D. Protective labor legislation and its administration in Tennessee. Knoxville, Univ. of Tennessee press, 1955. 216 p.

Johnson, Charles A. Frontier camp meeting: religions' harvest time. Dallas, Southern Methodist univ., 1955. ix, 325 p. $5.00.

Jones, Katherine M. Heroines of Dixie. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill company, Inc., 1955. 430 p. $5.00.

Jordan, Weymouth T. George Washington Campbell of Tennessee: western statesman. Tallahassee, Fla. state univ., 1955. x. 214 p.

Knight, Oliver. Cherokee society under the stress of removal, 1820-1846. (Chron. of Okla. Winter, '54-55. v. 32: 414-28.)

Lambert, Robert S. The democratic national convention of 1844. (Tenn. hist. qr. Mar. '55. v. 14: 3-23.)

Lemke, W. J. The Hindman family portraits. (Ark. hist. qr. Summer, '55. v. 14: 103-14.)

Lerner, Eugene M. Money, prices, and wages in the Confederacy, 1861-1865. (Jour. of pol. ec. Feb. '55.)

Lynne, Donald M. Wilson's cavalry at Nashville. (Civil War hist. June '55.)

McClary, Ben Harris. Sut Lovingood views "Abe Linkhorn." (Lincoln herald. Fall '54. v. 56: 44-45.)

McClary, Ben Harris. Sut Lovingood's country. (Southern observer. Jan. '55. v. 3: 5-7.)

McMurtry, Gerald M. Zollicoffer and the battle of Mill Springs. (Filson Club hist. qr. Oct. '55. v. 23: 303-19.)

Marquis, Robert H. *et al.* The movement for new water rights laws in the Tennessee valley states. (Tennessee law review. Apr. '55. v. 23: 797-837.)

Mason, Julian. The King of the Wild Frontier versus Old Hickory. (Tenn. folklore soc. bul. Dec. '55. v. 21: 107-09.)

Masterson, W. H. The land speculator and the West—the role of William Blount. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 27: 3-8.)

Mitchell, Lt. Col. Joseph B. Decisive battles of the Civil War. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1955. 226 p. $4.00.

Morristown centennial: an historical pageant of Davy Crockett's home town. Morristown, Tenn., 1955. $1.00.

Morrison, Judge John and Hamsley, Col. Bob. The real David Crockett: authentic and illustrated. Lawrenceburg, Tenn., The authors, 1955. 38 p.

Newton, James A. Early history of Bethel College. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 9: 119-37.)

Nicholas, Louis. In memoriam: Charles Faulkner Bryan, 1911-1955. (Tenn. folklore soc. bul. Sept. '55. v. 21: 79-80.)

Osborn, George C., ed. A Tennessean at the siege of Vicksburg: the diary of Samuel Alexander Ramsey Swan, May-July, 1863. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '55. v. 14: 353-72.)

Oswell, Troy. Above and beyond the call of duty. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '55. v. 14: 341-52.)

Pratt, Fletcher. Civil War in pictures. New York, Henry Holt and company, 1955. 256 p. $10.00.

Quenzel, Carrol H. Johnny Bull—Billy Yank. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '55. v. 14: 120-41.)

Ray, Worth S. Tennessee cousins: a history of Tennessee people. Austin, Texas, Privately printed, 1955. viii, 811 p. $20.00.

Rayback, Joseph G. Martin Van Buren's break with James K. Polk: the record. (New York hist. Jan. '55.)

Richardson, Ethel Paul. American mountain songs. New York, Greenberg, 1955. 120 p. $3.50.

Roberts, Leonard, contr. Folktales told in Tennessee. (Tenn. folklore soc. bul. June '55. v. 21: 33-35.)

Rodes, Sara, contr. Folktales told in Tennessee. (Tenn. folklore soc. bul. June '55. v. 21: 35-37.)

Rogers, E. G. Tall tales from Tennessee. (Sou. folklore qr. Dec. '55. v. 19: 237-42.)

Rothrock, Mary U. David Crockett, the legend and the man. (Tenn. teacher. Mar. '55. v. 22: 8-11.)

Ruttan, Vernon W. The impact of urban-industrial development on agriculture in the Tennessee valley and the Southeast. (Jour. of farm ec. Feb. '55.)

Schmidt, Louis Bernard. Andrew Jackson and the agrarian West. (Cur. hist. June '55.)

Shoemaker, Floyd C. Missouri's Tennessee heritage. (Missouri hist. rev. Jan. '55. v. 49: 127-42.)

Siegel, Leo K. John Eaton, Jr.: the early years, 1829-1862. (Northwest Ohio qr. Spring '55.)

Smith, Ophia D. The incorrigible "Miss Ginger." (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 9: 93-118.)

Spain, Rufus B. R. B. C. Howell: Nashville Baptist leader in the Civil War period. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '55. v. 14: 323-40.)

Spain, Rufus B. R. B. C. Howell: Progressive Baptist minister in the old Southwest. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '55. v. 14: 195-226.)

Spain, Rufus B. R. B. C. Howell: Virginia Baptist tradition comes to the old Southwest. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '55. v. 14: 99-119.)

Stephenson, Wendell Holmes. The South lives in history: Southern historians and their legacy. Baton Rouge, Louisiana state univ. press, 1955. XVI, 163 p. $3.00.

Stover, John F. The railroads of the South, 1865-1900: a study in finance and control. Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. C. press, 1955. 310 p. $5.00.

Strong, Donald S. The presidential election in the South, 1952. (Jour. of politics. Aug. '55. v. 17: 343-89.)

Thomas, Benjamin P., ed. Three years with Grant as recalled by war correspondent Sylvanus Cadwallader. New York, Knopf, 1955. 353p. $4.75.

Thornton, Mary Lindsay. Official publications of the colony and state of North Carolina, 1749-1939: a bibliography. Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. C. press, 1954. xii, 347 p.

Thorpe, Willard. A southern reader. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1955. xxiv, 760 p. $7.50.

Tigert, John J., IV. Bishop Holland Nimmons McTyeire: ecclesiastical and educational architect. Nashville, Vanderbilt univ. press, 1955. 279 p. $4.50.

Turner, Arlin. George W. Cable's recollections of General Forrest. (Jour. of southern hist. May '55. v. 21: 224-28.)

Ward, J. W. Andrew Jackson: symbol for an age. New York, Oxford univ. press, 1955. xii, 274 p. $4.75.

Williams, Frank B., Jr. The East Tennessee education association, 1903-1954. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 27: 49-76.)

Williams, T. Harry. Beauregard at Shiloh. (Civil War hist. Mar. '55.)

Wood, Gordon R. Some sources of information on Tennessee folk speech. (Tenn. folklore soc. bul. Mar. '55. v. 21: 20-26.)

Younger, Richard D. Southern grand juries and slavery. (Jour. of Negro hist. Apr. '55.)

UNPUBLISHED MASTER'S THESES, 1955

Duke University

Winter, Arthur Bruce. Special governmental districts in Tennessee.

Peabody College

Bacon, Hollis Phillip, II. The historical geography of ante-bellum Nashville.

Donovan, William Funston, Jr. The growth of the industrial spirit in Tennessee, 1890-1910.

University of Tennessee

Acuff, J. T. The effort and ability of Grainger county to support its schools.

Boyd, Gilbert H. A geologic study of the Chickamauga formations of Raccoon Valley, Roane county, Tennessee.

Brown, Sarah Heron. The Bourbons, 1870-1900: A study of a Southern stereotype in history and fiction.

Case, Dale Edward. Oak Ridge, Tennessee; a geographic study.

Catron, Anna Grace. The public career of David Crockett.

Clark, Pauline Anderson. History of Harrison-Chilhowee Baptist Academy.

Crittenden, Marvin C. A history of the Welfare Commission of Davidson county, Tennessee.

Gillespie, James Pittard. The Hypericaceae of Tennessee.

Malone, Howard W. A history of education in Jefferson county, Tennessee.

Milici, Robert Calvin. The structural geology of the Harrison Corner, Roane county, Tennessee.

Mize, Ruby Inez. The Tennessee parole system: structure and administration.

Nelson, Arthur E. Heavy minerals of the Kingsport formation.

Weaver, Andrew M. Jefferson Davis versus his generals: A study in the military history of the Confederacy.

White, Lloyd A. The geology of the Middle Ordovician of the Knoxville belt, Bearden quadrangle, Knox county, Tennessee.

Vanderbilt University

Miles, Alfred E. Geology of the Hendersonville quadrangle, Sumner and Wilson counties, Tennessee.

UNPUBLISHED DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS, 1955

Vanderbilt University

Hartje, Robert George. Major General Earl Van Dorn.

Maiden, Lewis Smith. A chronicle of the theater in Nashville, Tennessee.

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

As They Saw Forrest: Some Recollections and Comments of Contemporaries. Edited by Robert Selph Henry. (Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1956. Pp. xvi, 306. Maps, illustrations, index. $5.00.)

"The author of any good book on a historical subject has to work through a vast amount of material. Owing to limitations of space, he is able to weave into his narrative only a small part of the roughage that he accumulates. Hence he goes to press with a sense of incompleteness, and with considerable regret of his inability to share more fully with his readers the fascinating sources that lie back of his book.

"Such was the experience of Robert Selph Henry, eminent historian of the Confederacy, who in 1944, after many years of preparation, completed *'First with the Most' Forrest,* a book which soon won recognition as the best biography of the South's 'Wizard of the Saddle.' The desire to share the overflow of research was especially strong in the instances of the Forrest study because Forrest was the sort of character who inspired an unusual amount of colorful comment. Out of this situation, and a deep interest in Forrest on the part of Seale Johnson of the McCowat-Mercer Press, originated the present volume in the Monographs, Sources and Reprints Series. . . ." (Foreword.)

The work includes several accounts by contemporaries: civilians and Confederate and Union soldiers, and a British field marshall whose estimate of Forrest helped establish his reputation as a strategist. A final chapter, "Forrest's Own Words," reproduces unpublished writings; and there is included a large folding map of Forrest's military campaigns.

Thomas A. R. Nelson of East Tennessee. By Thomas B. Alexander. (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1956. Pp. xiii, 186. Illustrations, map, footnotes, critical essay on authorities, index. $3.00.)

"In mid-career Nelson was plunged into one of the fiercest phases of the 1861 conflict between Unionism and Southern separatism to be found anywhere in the nation. And during the ensuing Civil War he was trapped in a bewildering twilight zone that would yield to no scrutiny whether it was sunrise or sunset for the Union. At no time was his passionate search for the conservative course frustrated by such insuperable barriers as in these war years. Victory on the battlefield proved only prelude to the vital struggle over constitutionalism inherent in the Reconstruction controversy, and Nelson was challenged to devote both legal and political talents in support of conservatism and Andrew Johnson's dogged defense of the Constitution.

"Nelson's last political act, undertaken in 1872 'with the frank fearlessness of a statesman,' was called forth in behalf of conservatism during a period of fluid party lines and talk of new parties not unlike the first political contest in which he had actively participated thirty-six years earlier. Through it all he

sought to lead with wisdom and to deserve the confidence of his followers." (Preface.)

Private Acts of Anderson County, 1801-1956. Compiled by Eugene L. Joyce. (Oak Ridge, Tenn.: Anderson County, 1956. Pp. 81.)

"Because the Acts have been frequently amended and their interpretation often resulted in lawsuits, this compilation has been annotated with the amendments and court decisions affecting each act. For the sake of economy and brevity certain sections that are common to all acts such as population figures, caption, savings and public welfare clauses have been omitted. It should also be noted that all Acts involving bond issues and city charters have been omitted." (Preface.)

The Blount Journal, 1790-1796: The Proceedings of the Government over the Territory of the United States of America, South of the River Ohio, William Blount, Esquire, in his Executive Department as Governor. Facsimile edition. (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission, 1955. Pp. vii, 157, $3.00.)

"This facsimile printing of *Blount's Journal* is based upon a manuscript duly authenticated by the Territorial Secretary, Daniel Smith. The manuscript is the property of the Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville, Tennessee, and is deposited in its archives and is printed by permission of the Society. The official copy of Blount's Journal, also in the handwriting of Secretary Smith, is in the archives of the Department of State, Washington, D. C.

"Two printings of the *Journal* have been made heretofore. In 1897, *The American Historical Magazine* (Nashville, Tennessee) printed a version of the *Journal* based upon the manuscript copy in the Tennessee Historical Society's archives. In 1936, the Government Printing Office (Washington, D.C.) brought out Volume IV, 517 pages, of *The Territorial Papers of the UNITED STATES* in which was incorporated *Blount's Journal,* the latter based upon the official copy in the archives of the Department of State, Washington, D. C. There are a few minor differences between the two above publications of the *Journal,* due to the inclusion or exclusion of certain papers, such as letters of transmittal, a few ordinances, and papers transmitted to the U. S. Secretary of State as separate documents. The triple Index, prepared by Robert T. Quarles, Jr., Director of the Archives Division, Tennessee State Library and Archives, provides a ready reference to all three publications of the *Journal.*" (Preface.)

Cumberland County's First Hundred Years. By Helen Bullard and Joseph Marshall Krechniak. (Crossville, Tenn.: Centennial Committee, 1956. Pp. ix, 377. Illustrations, maps, appendices, bibliography. $5.00.)

"Cumberland County is unique. No other county has a history quite like it. Its opening and settlement by white men was the result of a unique combination of circumstances. The area which is now Cumberland County posed one of the most serious and bedeviling problems to face the fathers of the State, a problem which took nearly a generation to solve. A war was fought over the only thing of value at that time on the entire Cumberland Plateau.

"Cumberland County's character has always possessed an individuality which sets it apart from the rest of the State." (Chapter I.)

Included in this centennial history are several good maps and charts, the histories of the several communities, and much genealogical material.

The Great Smoky Mountains. By Laura Thornborough. Revised and enlarged. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1956. Pp. xi, 180. Illustrations, selected bibliography, index. $3.00.)

"The University of Tennessee Press is sponsoring this revised and enlarged edition, because, according to reviewers, 'no other book covers so many facets of the Smokies,' and 'it answers about 90% of all the questions asked about this National Park.'

"Much that I said will happen has happened. Boundaries of the Park continued to change. The 463,000 acres mentioned on Page 10 have become 507,000 with the addition of the recreational area bordering Fontana Lake." (Preface to Latest Edition.)

That's Why They Call It . . . The Names and Lore of the Great Smokies. By Paul M. Fink. (Jonesboro: Paul M. Fink, 1956. Pp. 20. $0.50.)

"For both the casual visitor and for him who wants to dig more deeply into the story of the mountains and their people, the place-names of the Great Smoky Mountains carry with them more of interest and charm than is the case in many other places. For generations these mountains were entirely isolated, cut off by their own ruggedness from anything but the most remote contact with the outside world. Even the people living on one side of the range knew little or nothing of what was happening on the other slope." (Foreword.)

Grainger County, Tennessee, Federal Census of 1810, Population Schedule, and County Tax Lists for 1810. McClung Historical Collection, *Special Studies,* No. 1. Edited by Pollyanna Creekmore. (Knoxville: Lawson McGhee Library, 1956. Pp. vi, 71. $3.50.)

"In arranging and classifying some manuscripts in the McClung Historical Collection several years ago, the editor discovered one unidentified document, which upon examination and comparison proved to be, without doubt, an enumerator's copy of the population schedule of the federal census of 1810 for Grainger County, Tennessee.

"The document was extremely fragile; the paper was rag, and had been subjected to dampness and heat, resulting in brittleness, and it was evident that a portion was missing. . . .

"In view of the unique character of the document, the Library felt that, with the 1810 Grainger County tax lists in its possession, the information should be made more widely available." (Foreword.)

Sevier County Tennessee: Population Schedule of the United States Census of 1830 (Fifth Census) for Sevier County, Tennessee. Transcribed by Blanche C. McMahon and Pollyanna Creekmore. (Knoxville: Privately printed, 1956. Pp. 61. $5.00.)

"The Population Schedule of Sevier County for 1830, presented herein, was reproduced from a microfilm copy of the original record on file in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

"The original page numbers are carried on the left in parentheses. No attempt has been made to change the spelling of the names as written by the enumerator, George W. Porter. References will be found in the index.

"The Map and Charts used in this volume are enlargements from *Map of the State of Tennessee Taken from Survey by Matthew Rhea,* published at Columbia, Tennessee, 1832." (Foreword.)

Population Schedule of the United States Census of 1850 (Seventh Census) for Sevier County, Tennessee. Transcribed by Pollyanna Creekmore and Blanche C. McMahon. (Knoxville: Privately printed, 1953. Pp. [74] $5.00.)

"The following copy of the population schedule was made from a microfilm copy of the original record on file in the National Archives, Washington, D. C. While every effort has been made to make an accurate transcription, no doubt there will be some errors. It will be noted that a good many of the names are phoenetic. No attempt has been made to change the spelling used by the enumerator, Lemuel Duggan. In a few instances the correct spelling is given in parentheses, but for the most part references will be found in the index." (Foreword.)

Colonel "Davy" Crockett. By Robert M. Torrence in collaboration with Robert L. Whittenburg. (Washington, D. C.: R. L. Whittenburg, 35 Maryland Ave., Parklane S. E., 1956. Pp. viii, 23. Illustrations, notes, bibliography. $3.00.)

This is designed to be a "concise history of David Crockett to cover his various activities, without glamour, [and a genealogy] to include his ancestors, brothers and sisters, his children by both marriages and as many as possible of his many descendants. . . ." (Author's preface.)

Old Speedwell Families, By Lawrence Edwards. (Montevallo, Ala.: Lawrence Edwards, 1955. Pp. 117, Map, notes. $5.00.)

"First of all, I say this book is *not* a scholarly book; it is not intended to be. Second, it is not a thorough book; it has been impossible to make it so. Third, it is not an authenticated book; records were not always at hand to make authentication possible. It is rather a book packed with information gleaned from dozens of sources, mostly from family records, but often from people who remembered. People's memories have been trusted for many of the dates given here. Many other dates, of course, have been gleaned from the dozen or so little graveyards in the Speedwell neighborhood." (Preface.)

History of Forestdale Evangelical United Brethren Church. By Rev. Harold W. McDaniel. (Knoxville: Forestdale E. U. B. Church, 1956. Pp. 140. Illustrations.)

"The author of this book, by patient research, has rescued some names from certain oblivion and has caused them to live again in the minds of those who review their records. His major purpose has been to reveal the activities of those who had significant parts in the founding and progress of the Forestdale Church." (Foreword.)

Protective Labor Legislation and its Administration in Tennessee. By J. Fred Holly and Bevars D. Mabry. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1955. Pp. 216. Tables, footnotes, bibliography.)

"This study of protective labor legislation and its administration was undertaken at the request of Governor Frank G. Clement. State officials interested in this project are concerned chiefly with the improvement of Tennessee labor law and its administration by the Tennessee Department of Labor. As the study progressed, however, many related problems appeared. For example, it became evident that sound administration necessitates adequate departmental budgets, which is both an administrative and legislative problem. Investigation also revealed the need for organized material for the proper orientation and training of new departmental personnel." (Preface.)

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. Vol. XXI, *The Territory of Arkansas, 1829-1836.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1954. Pp. v, 1415p. Map, footnotes, index. $11.00.)

This concluding volume of the Arkansas territorial papers is of considerable interest to Tennesseans because of the number of citizens of this state who participated in the settlement of Arkansas.

Ben Franklin's Privateers. By William Bell Clark. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956. Pp. xii, 198. Illustrations, index. $3.75.)

"*Ben Franklin's Privateers* discloses a hitherto hidden activity of that great American and reveals him in a new guise—as a humanitarian. Here is told the exciting story of how, to achieve the release of more of his fellow countrymen from English prisons, he launched against British commerce three privateers with American commissions." (Jacket.)

Benjamin Franklin was later honored in the naming of the temporary "State of Franklin" in the Tennessee country.

The South Lives in History: Southern Historians and Their Legacy. By Wendell Holmes Stephenson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955. Pp. xiii, 163. Essay on authorities, index. $3.00.)

"Who were the pioneers in southern historical scholarship who made the South live again in the pages of history? This question and others are discussed in this volume, in which three outstanding historians are presented.

"William E. Dodd, a North Carolinian, found democracy an inviting theme. Ulrich B. Phillips, a Georgian, depicted plantation life in the Old South. Walter L. Fleming, an Alabamian, concentrated on the era of conflict in the sixties and seventies." (Jacket.)

Walter L. Fleming taught for many years at Vanderbilt University.

NOTES AND NEWS, 1955

Programs of the Society

JANUARY. "Some Sidelights on the History of the Norris Reservoir Area," by Marshall A. Wilson, of Knoxville.

FEBRUARY. "The Nomenclature of Upper Tennessee River," by James R. Montgomery, of Knoxville.

MARCH. "Some Experiences in Compiling and Publishing a Genealogy," by R. C. d'Armand, of Knoxville.

APRIL. "Sugar and Spice and Plenty of Backbone," by Mrs. James R. Stokely, Jr., of Newport.

MAY. The Society held its May meeting jointly with the Chattanooga Area Historical Association in Cleveland, Tennessee, on Saturday, May 7. The Committee on Local Arrangements consisting of James F. Corn, Miss Elizabeth Fillauer, Miss Elizabeth Hambright, and Mrs. Richard Barry, arranged a full and interesting program.

At 2:30 P.M. a tour of historic spots in Cleveland and Bradley County began from Calhoun. In Calhoun the old Presbyterian Cemetery containing the grave of Governor Joseph McMinn was visited. Proceeding by the old highway bridge across Hiwassee River, the next stop was the Henegar Home, where Mrs. Penelope Johnson Allen, member of the Tennessee Historical Commission, gave a brief talk on the history of Charleston with particular emphasis on the Henegar House.

In Cleveland the following places of historic interest were visited: Public Library (formerly the Craigmiles Home), Oak Grove Academy, St. Luke's Episcopal Church and Parish House, the First Presbyterian Church, and Centenary (now Lee) College. Miss Ruth Chambers, Mrs. Richard Barry, Will Rodgers, and J. Eugene Lewis gave brief historical talks at these buildings. At Oak Grove Academy a marker was dedicated by the Ocoee Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, with Miss Elizabeth Fillauer, Regent, presiding.

An informal dinner was held at 6:30, in the ballroom of Cherokee Hotel. Dr. Henry T. Malone, Professor of History at the Atlanta Division (Georgia State College of Business Administration) of the University of Georgia, gave a talk on "Return Jonathan Meigs, Indian Agent Extraordinary." This address is printed in this issue of the *Publications*.

JUNE. "First Train to Knoxville," by Robert L. Cunningham, of Knoxville.

OCTOBER. "Some Observations on East Tennessee in the Civil War," by Dr. Joseph H. Parks, of Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Alabama. This address was followed by a reception in the auditorium of Lawson McGhee Library.

NOVEMBER. "A Brief History of the Marble Industry of East Tennessee," by John Barksdale Jones, Jr., of Knoxville.

DECEMBER. "The History of Loudon, Tennessee," by Mr. Arthur M. Fowler, of Loudon. At this meeting the following officers were elected for the

year 1956: president, Mrs. E. L. Bowman, Knoxville; vice-presidents: Knoxville area, Marshall Wilson; Upper East Tennessee, George W. Anderson, Kingsport; Lower East Tennessee, J. Eugene Lewis, Chattanooga; secretary, Pollyanna Creekmore, Lawson McGhee Library; treasurer, Martha L. Ellison, Lawson McGhee Library; members of the Executive Committee: C. E. Allred, University of Tennessee; I. N. Carr, Carson-Newman College, Jefferson City; Harold S. Fink, University of Tennessee; Laura E. Luttrell, Knoxville; Mrs. James R. Stokely, Jr., Newport. Stanley J. Folmsbee and LeRoy P. Graf, of the University of Tennessee, were re-elected managing editor and associate editor of the *Publications*. Mary U. Rothrock, Knoxville, and Weymouth T. Jordan, Florida State University, were re-elected to the board of editors for terms of three years.

The McClung Award, given annually by Mrs. C. M. McClung of Knoxville to the contributor of the best article in the Society's *Publications* was awarded for the year 1955 to Frank B. Williams, Jr., for his "The East Tennessee Education Association, 1903-1954." The judges were Daniel W. Hollis, University of South Carolina, Chase C. Mooney, Indiana University, and E. Bruce Thompson, Baylor University.

In April, 1955, the Society inaugurated a new quarterly publication, *Echoes,* free to members. It is devoted to current news, announcements of programs, stimulation of historical interests and of interest in the Society and its activities, and it also contains occasional short historical sketches and genealogical queries. Marshall A. Wilson, Knoxville, was elected editor, Mrs. Ernestine R. Lyle and Mrs. Blanche C. McMahon associate editors, and R. C. d'Armand genealogical editor. Correspondents in the several counties of East Tennessee were also named.

The city of Morristown celebrated its centennial in 1955, and the Asbury Methodist Church in Knox County, the Rogersville Presbyterian Church, and the New Providence Church at Stoney Point observed their 100th, 150th, and 175th anniversaries, respectively.

On June 11, 1955, the Jefferson County chapter of the Association for the Preservation of Tennessee Antiquities sponsored a Frances Hodgson Burnett Celebration at New Market, Tennessee. The feature of the program was a narrative pageant written and directed by Mrs. E. L. Bowman, President of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

County historical societies for the writing of county histories were organized in Anderson and Polk counties.

The General Assembly of 1955 authorized the appointment of an official state historian, and Governor Clement appointed to that position Robert H. White, who is engaged in compiling and editing the *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee,* of which three volumes have appeared.

The General Assembly of 1955 appropriated $50,000 for the restoration of Fort Loudoun on the Little Tennessee River, and the Fort Loudoun Association began work on that project.

The General Assembly also appropriated $10,000 to the Tennessee Historical Society for the rebinding, photostating, microfilming, and restoring its book, manuscript, and newspaper holdings. This was the first state appropriation ever made to the Society.

At the annual dinner of the Tennessee Historical Society on May 10, 1955, Burton Jones of Chattanooga was elected vice-president for East Tennessee. A. L. Ganier, Sr., was elected president to succeed Robert H. White.

The Tennessee Historical Commission on May 6, 1955, approved the plans of its executive committee for an expanded publications program as the highway-marking program reaches its tapering-off stage. The Commission also allocated funds for the photographing of the state's collection of historical portraits, and to the Shiloh Historical Association for the completion of a motion picture, "Shiloh, Portrait of a Battle."

The Society of American Archivists held its nineteenth annual meeting in Nashville on October 9, 10, 11, 1955.

The Southern Historical Association held its twenty-first annual meeting in Memphis on November 10, 11, 12, 1955. The president of the Association was Bell I. Wiley of Emory University, a native of Tennessee. Elected to succeed him was James W. Patton, University of North Carolina, another native of Tennessee. A third native Tennessean, Robert S. Henry, of Washington, D. C., was elected vice-president. LeRoy P. Graf of the University of Tennessee was elected to the executive council. Included in the program was a session on "Local History" presided over by Dan M. Robison, Tennessee State Librarian and Archivist, at which W. D. Miller of Memphis State College spoke on "Memphis in the Progressive Era." The paper was discussed by Stanley J. Folmsbee of the University of Tennessee. Other Tennesseans who participated in the program include General Ben Lear, S. R. Bruesch, and Shelby Foote of Memphis, Charles F. Dalzell and Randall Stewart of Vanderbilt University, and Cecil Sims of Nashville.

The State Archives Division of the Tennessee State Library and Archives acquired from the National Archives the consular correspondence of Tennesseans in the United States diplomatic service. It had previously acquired on microfilm the entire Draper Collection of manuscripts from the Wisconsin Historical Society.

The James D. Hoskins Library of the University of Tennessee acquired the private papers of ex-Governor Ben W. Hooper of Newport.

The McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, has acquired microfilm copies of the United States census records, 1830-1880, for the state of Tennessee.

The History Department of Memphis State College, in cooperation with the Herbert Herff Foundation, presented the third in its series of J. P. Young Lectures in American History on October 23-25, 1955. Francis B. Simkins of Longwood College, Farmville, Virginia, gave four lectures on "Survival of the Conservative Tradition in the South." Previous lectures in the series were Bell I. Wiley in 1954 on "The Road to Appomattox," and Claude Bowers in 1953 on "Making Democracy a Reality: Jefferson, Jackson, and Polk."

Letters and Resolutions

February 5, 1955

Hon. George R. Dempster, Mayor, and
Members of the Council
City Hall
Knoxville, Tennessee

Gentlemen:

From the press we have learned of the proposal to abolish the Market House and public market on Market Street. The members of our Society believe that such a move would be ill-advised for several reasons.

First, in the old Market House and in the market as an institution we have in our community something unique and distinctive. Most American cities are as standardized as department stores, super-markets, filling-stations and parking lots can make them. Some cities, like Richmond with its Confederate capital and memorials, Charleston and Savannah with their colonial homes, and New Orleans with its French Quarter, have an atmosphere of the past which Progress has not destroyed. Such cities delight tourists and lovers of the past, and manage to be thriving centers of commerce at the same time.

Knoxville is one of the oldest cities west of the Alleghenies, but what has it to show? From the eighteenth century there are the Blount Mansion and the Ramsey House, but little more. There is no old section to show the tourist. Of ante-bellum mansions we have Bleak House. The beautiful Atkin Mansion has given way—to a parking lot. Knoxville was the scene of a stirring Civil War battle, but Progress has obliterated all traces of it. Two obscure monuments are all we have to show the tourist.

In our Market House area we have something most unusual, a place where fish, beef, sausages, smoked ham, imported and domestic cheese, nuts, berries, fruits, garden produce, mountain honey, gorgeous flowers, holly and Christmas wreaths, and scores of other things can be bought in season. It is a place of odors and colors and of various human personalities, city folk, country people, mountain folk, singers, mendicants, and street-corner evangelists. What other Southern or American city can boast of as unique an economic and social institution? If the market does not delight the blasé who are used to it, it does fascinate the tourist who comes miles to see it and will spread reports of Knoxville's charm and color back home.

There are two other reasons why we should retain the Market House and even improve it. One, it is a great convenience to the public. For the shopper it is but a step to the Gay Street stores and one of the South's finest department stores. The market is a thriving place. It brings business to the stores around it. Two, it is a market for the sale of goods produced by the farmers of the surrounding area. They have a right to sell their produce. And they in turn patronize Knoxville's stores.

We think the civic generosity of Messrs. William G. Swan and Joseph A. Mabry, honored citizens of the past, should be respected. We should not trade our heritage for another parking lot.

Respectfully yours,

Elizabeth S. Bowman (Mrs. E. L.)
President

THOMAS WILSON PRESTON

January 10, 1876—November 12, 1955

The passing of Thomas Wilson Preston on November 12 is noted by none with more regret than those concerned with the study and recording of the history of Southwest Virginia and East Tennessee. Many prospective authors of historical writings sought him out for aid in verifying facts. Such requests never failed to receive genuine cordiality and helpfulness.

Early in his proprietorship of the King Printing Company of Bristol he became interested in local history and was always willing to print historical materials which larger commercial companies would not have found it profitable to handle. Soon he began to contribute articles of a historical nature to newspapers and magazines. In 1926 his full-length book, *Historical Sketches of the Holston Valley,* appeared. He later edited *Addresses of Famous Southwest Virginians.*

Thomas Wilson Preston was the son of Amelia Cummings Preston, descendant of the Reverend Charles Cummings, known as the "fighting parson," of Revolutionary fame, of the notable Scottish Campbell Clan, and Robert A. Preston, who served in the 37th Virginia Regiment, Stonewall Jackson's Brigade, Army of Northern Virginia, in the War Between the States. He was a former chairman of the Campbell Clan in America. He married Florence Bell Blair of Wytheville, Virginia, and reared a son and two daughters in Bristol.

Mr. Preston's descent from illustrious families of Virginia, his life in a region rich in historical background, and his accustomed attendance at historical celebrations no doubt influenced him to build up a valuable library of books on this section of the country. His many other hobbies included the collection of autographs, stamps, etchings, woodcuts, antique furniture and glassware.

His tireless devotion to civic affairs produced an enviable record of achievement. For twelve years, 1937 to 1949, he was mayor of Bristol, Virginia. His administration was credited with the creation of Bristol's Housing Authority, extension of the city limits, building of new schools, purchase by the city of an electrical distribution system and securing of TVA power, and the opening of the Highland View section of the city. He was also a Rotarian, trustee of King and Sullins' Colleges, treasurer of the Bristol Public Library Board, Y. M. C. A. treasurer for twenty years, and elder of the Central Presbyterian Church for thirty years.

He not only helped to make a bit of history in his own community, but by his friendliness to the idea of the importance of heritage and tradition helped to preserve and spread knowledge about historical matters. He will be missed.

The Committee

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Henry T. Malone is associate professor of history and assistant dean of arts and sciences, Georgia State College of Business Administration, Atlanta.

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D. C. Corbitt is head of the Department of History and Government, Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky. His wife, Roberta Corbitt, assisted in the translations.

Pollyanna Creekmore is assistant in charge of the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, and secretary of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

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